Vol. XXII] MAY, 1966—AUGUST, 1966 [Parts 3—4

(*Issued in March* 1968)

THE JOURNAL OF THE GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE



ALLAHABAD

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Vol. XXII] MAY, 1966—AUGUST, 1966 [Parts 3—4

(*Issued in March* 1968)

THE JOURNAL OF THE GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE



ALLAHABAD



Published by
The Honorary Secretary,
Ganganatha Jha Research Institute,
Motilal Nehru Park, Allahabad–2

Printed by P. L. Yadava
at The Indian Press (Private) Ltd.
Allahabad

JOURNAL

OF THE

GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Vol. XXII, Pts. 3—4

MAY, 1966—AUGUST, 1966

(*Issued in March* 1968)

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b. Nov. 18, 1895 d. Sept. 9, 1967

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JAYANTABHAṬṬA AND VĀCASPATIMIŚRA; THEIR DATE AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE CHRONOLOGY OF VEDĀNTA

By Dr. B. H. Kapadia*

Jayantabhaṭṭa, the author of the *Nyāyamañjarī,* which was edited by Gangadhara Śāstri Tailanga in 1895 for the first time in the *Vizianagram Sanskrit Series* was placed by the editor after Vācaspatimiśra.[1] He seems to have discovered a citation from the *Nyāyavārttika-Tātparyaṭīkā* of Vācaspatimiśra on the strength of which he places him after Vācaspatimiśra. This date is universally long since recognised.[2] In the meanwhile, it has been settled that the questionable portion is no citation from the work[3] of Vācaspatimiśra and it is to be observed that Vācaspatimiśra on his part mentions *Nyāyamañjarī*[4] in the introductory verses of his work.[4a] Thereby, the chronological sequence is settled in an unequivocal sense other than what was assumed originally.

* Sardar Vallabhabhai Vidyapeeth, Vallabh Vidyanagar.

1. P. 285 l. 12. p. 312, 13 of the old ed.
2. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy,* Vol. I (1929), p. 307, Radhakṛshnan, *Indian Philosophy* Vol. 2, (1927), p. 40, Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *History of Indian Logic* (1921), p. 147, Keith, *Karma-mīmāṁsā* (1921), p. 15, Farquhahar, *Outlines of the Religious Literature of India,* (1920), p. 370, S. Kuppuswami Sastri, *Brahmasidhhi, Introduction,* p. LIX (1937).
3. Frauwallner, *Beitrage z. Gesch.* d. Nyaya, 1, in *WZKM* 43 (1937), p. 268 with annotations.
4. ......nyāyamañjarīm....prasavite.... namogurave. *Nyāyakaṇikā,* Introduction. Cf. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy* ii. (1932), p. 107 and Frauwallner a. a. o.p. 269.

4a. This *Nyāyamañjarī* is of Trilocana-guru (*Editor*).

In order to exactly ascertain the life period of Jayantabhaṭṭa, in the first instance, one ought to look for the sequence of his predecessors. It is known from the introduction of *Kādambarīkathāsāra*[5] which is composed by Abhinanda, the son of Jayantabhaṭṭa. Jayantabhaṭṭa's great-grandfather Śaktisvāmin was the minister of king Muktāpīḍa who reigned[6] from 733—769. Thereby, the possibilities for the life span of the philosopher lie in a wider range. One does not know whether Śaktisvāmin acted as a minister during the beginning or towards the end of the sovereignty of Muktāpīḍa. One also does not know as to of what age he was when he served the king. However, in the *Nyāyamañjarī* there are at least two evidences which endeavour to fix up pretty definitely the life span of Jayantabhaṭṭa as connected with the line of ancestors and above all the composition of *Nyāyamañjarī*.

In Āhnika I[7] Jayantabhaṭṭa assails the doctrine of poetic Dhvani. Therein he definitely alludes to the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana that an expression which literally expresses an order (through the working of the power of suggestion) can be understood as a prohibition and *vice versa*, a literal prohibition as a command,[8] regarding which he cites[9] three commencing words from the first Prākrit example

5. Printed in the Bhūmikā of *Nyāyamañjari* ed. in the Kāśī S. S.
6. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India* (1904), p. 308.
7. P. 45, 16—28.
8. *Nyāyamañjarī* 1, p. 45, 18: विधेर्निषेधावगतिर्विधि बुद्धिर्निषेधत:। cf. *Dhvanyāloka* I, 4 (*Kāvyamālā* 25, p. 18 and 24 of the 4th ed.)

आद्यस्तावत्प्रभेदो वाच्यात् दूरं विभेदवान्। स हि कदाचित् वाच्ये विधिरूपे प्रतिषेधरूप:.........क्वचिद्वाच्ये प्रतिषेधरूपे विधिरूप:।

9. भम धम्मि अ वीसत्थो *Nyāyamañjarī* i. p. 45, 20=*Dhvanyāloka* 1. 4. p. 19.

given by Ānandavardhana. Ānandavardhana[10] was a contemporary of King Avantivarman who ruled from 856–883 in Kashmir, the home of Jayantabhaṭṭa.

In Āhnika IV Jayantabhaṭṭa quotes[11] that when it is asserted that all scriptures possess authoritativeness, it is not meant thereby, that every other agreeable swindler should propound a new scripture and should desire recognition for the same. Then follow the sentences in verse: scriptures, which are recognised by a large mass of people and are to be so recognised by many learned (mahājanasamūhe) they, even though are propounded only now should not appear[12] to be absolutely unheard of (apūrva). Their motive (an unexplained motive) should not be, e.g., greed and they should not be repulsive to men: only such scriptures are to be here recognised as tenable as no authoritative means of knowledge justifies the doctrinal significance of a novice.[13] For unrecognised religious practitioners Jayantabhaṭṭa gives an example: This observance of those clad in blue (nīlāmbaravrata)[14] i.e. those who put on only one large piece of cloth as an upper garment, this which occurs promiscuously for men and women alike and among those who make many gestures (which are to be found among viṭas)—king Śaṅkara varman who knows the essence of religions (dharmatattvajña) has the understanding that it may be something that is absolutely unheard of (apūrva) and he has not treated likewise the

10. Kalhaṇa, *Rājataraṅginī*, V. 34.

11. On p. 248.

12. Since they recognise eternal truths.

13. P. 248, 6–11.

14. Prof. Frauwallner makes me take notice that here the same sect ought to have been meant which is otherwise named as Nilapaṭadarśana. Cf. H. v. Glassanepp, *Der Buddhismus*, p. 147 and *Buddhisitische Mysterien*, p. 60.

doctrines of the Jainas and other heterodox sects.[15] Śaṅkaravarman who is alluded to here ruled from 883—902 as the direct successor of Avantivarman.[16]

Jayantabhaṭṭa not only knows a poet living about or before 880 but knows also a prince ruling about 895. On the other hand, his great-grand-father was minister between 733 and 769. Between the grandfather and the great-grandson there exists accordingly a distance of at least 130 years. This is reasonable, if one prescribes 35 years as the average duration of a generation and if one accepts that Jayantabhaṭṭa's great-grand-father lived only towards the end of Muktāpīḍa's rule (about 790) when he was in the 4th quarter of his life, served the king, and Jayantabhaṭṭa can be assigned to the period of the sovereignty of Śaṅkaravarman (about 890, of about 60 years of age). Jayantabhaṭṭa thus appears not to have lived longer than the last named prince and *Nyāyamañjarī* appears to have been composed about 890.[17]

This circumstance now requires a scrutiny regarding the date of Jayantabhaṭṭa which has already become traditional

15. Cf. p. 248, 13—16.

16. As I saw subsequently, this possibility of dating is already referred to by Shivapraśad Bhattacarya in *IHQ* 24 (1948), p. 211.

17. In this context, it is interesting to note, that in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* (IV. 32. 16) in a prophecy a king Yaśaskaradeva is referred to who ruled in Kashmere from 939—948 (in the first instance, this has been alluded to by P. C. Divanji, cf. S. P. Bhattacarya a.a.O. p. 207). For, *Yoga* is brought out in an abridged from by Abhinanda, the son of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa as *Laghu-Yoga*. and it is thoroughly possible that even *Yoga* was edited as a complete work by Abhinanda who, as the son of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, must be living in the time of Yaśaskaradeva (Bhattacarya considers in *a.a.O.* the composition of the entire *Yoga*. by Abhinanda as a certainty). The passage of *Yoga* that is referred to betrays good geographical knowledge of Kashmere so that, in any case, a Kashmerean ought to have been its author.

and the investigation is more necessary when Jayantabhaṭṭa according to S. P. Bhattacarya is still later viz. about 925.[18] That Vācaspati lived after Jayantabhaṭṭa is not open to doubt, on account of the reference to *Nyāyamañjarī* in Vācaspati's *Nyāyakaṇikā* (? ED.),[19] and from further grounds which ought to be expounded as a consequence of it.

The question about the date of Vācaspatimiśra on the basis of himself dating it in *Nyāyasūcīnibandha* appears to be since long decided.[20] He wrote that work definitely in the year 841 or 842 after Christ. But this assumption entails another uncertainty. Vācaspati dates with the words: *vasu aṅka vasu vatsare* i.e. in the year 898. He does not mention any era. Suali decides it as the Vikrama era: (1) because this has been decided by *Tātparyaṭīkā* in its *bhūmikā*, (2) because Vācaspati was according to tradition from North viz. Mithilā[21] where that era was in use, (3) because Vācaspati by the employment of the Śaka era must be a contemporary of or of the same age as Udayana which is ruled out since Udayana has commented on the *Tātparyaṭīkā* of Vācaspati and according to his own evidence has written his *Lakṣaṇāvalī* in 984 A.D. He ought to be considered younger

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18. Bhattacarya in *a.a.O.* particularly, p. 211. Convincing proof for a later composition is absent in the article. The other works of Bhattacarya for fixing the date of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa especially his *Abhinanda* (referred to in *a.a.O.* p. 206 and 207, annotation 8) are not accesible to me. The ancestral pedigree of *Kādambarīkathāsāra* is not considered by Bhattacarya as reliable. However, subsequent addition would be probable as Jayanta Bhaṭṭa was the direct teacher of Vācaspatimiśra. cf. the following particularly p. 164.

19. See above p. 160 annotation 3.

20. Seit Sauli: *Introduzione Allo Studio della fil. Ind.* (pavia 1913) where on p. 57ff. the date of Vācaspatimiśra is treated and in J. H. Woods' translation of Yoga system of Patañjali (Cambridge, [Mass.], 1914. Harvard O. Series, 17), Introduction, p. XXI–XXIII.

21. In the introductory verses of Vācaspati's *Nyāyasūtroddhāra* (ed. in the Kāśī S. S. taken out from Jayantabhaṭṭa's *Nyāyamañjarī*) he is referred to as Mithileśvara.

than Vācaspatimiśra. The second and the third arguments are noted even by Woods[22] as decisive for the assumption of the Vikrama era.

None of the three arguments of Sauli are convincing. That which is conceded to Gangadhara, the editor of *Tātparyaṭīkā* and *Nyāyamañjarī* as an authority, as we have seen, is expounded in another context. That which concerns the employment of the Vikrama era is likewise. Udayana as Vācaspati ought to hail from Mīthilā[23] and he alludes in the concluding verse of *Lakṣaṇāvalī* to the Śaka era.[24] What is reasonable?—the same reckoning served his own countrymen. Lastly, the assumption that between the commentator and the text to be commented on at least there should be a distance of 100 years, a sort of axiom for the investigator, a principle which as others serve the same aim[25] is sometimes correct but is not throughout applicable. Usually, the commentator when he is a contemporary is the pupil of the author whose text he explains. But it is not unlikely that sometimes, even a distantly placed contemporary can be a commentator and this is really so when the case is like that of Vācaspati and Udayana, the author of the basic text and the commentator, both of whom were domiciled in the same place

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22. *a.a.O.* p. XXIII. *Ältere Literature Zur Datierung Vācaspatis* by Sauli and Woods. a.a.O.

23. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *History of Indian Logic,* (1921), p. 141. Sauli *a.a.*O. p. 62, annotation 2, That he was a Gauḍa Brāhmaṇa is not to be contradicted by his origin from Mithilā if that word is used in a general sense. cf. Crooke, *The Castes and Tribes of the N. W. Province* (Calcutta, 1896), s.v. Gaura, Gauḍa.

24. Sauli *a.a.O.* p. 62.

25. e.g. the ground that someone can be referred to as Bhagavat ought to be perceived as far distant from the person who so refers. cf. my *Unters u. Texte des fruhen Advaitavāda.* I *Die Schuler Sankaras* in Abh.d. Akad.d.Wiss.u.d. Lit. Mainz, Geistes u. Sozialwill Kl. year 1950, No. 26, p. 1930 with anm 2 and 3.

so that there is no necessity to compute a much longer time for the text to become well-known in one of the regions wide apart from the place of the origin of the text.

Vācaspatimiśra is to be placed after Jayantabhaṭṭa. He wrote his *Nyāyamañjarī* earliest by 890. But it is not necessary as the assumption that Vācaspati thinks of the Vikrama era while self-dating his work is given up and one has to decide for the second possibility viz. of the Śaka era. Therefore, Vācaspati has written *Nyāyasūcīnibandha* in the year 976 after Christ which is 8 years before Udayna completed his *Lakṣaṇāvalī*.

We ought to find here that Vācaspati's *Tātparyaṭīkā* is commented by a contemporary and we should revise the customary view about the possibility of writing a commentary on a work by a contemporary of the author. Nevertheless, there lies a case for exception and the plausible explanation should come out from the assumption that Vācaspati on account of his universal wisdom enjoyed in his life span unusual respect at least in his narrow home-land. From this observation it gives rise to this that Vācaspati is already quoted in his life span. The Buddhist Ratnakīrti especially the older contemporary of Udayana[26] who is about the same age as Vācaspatimiśra refers to him repeatedly in his treatises.[27] Even the *Mīmāṁsā* philosopher Bhavanātha who cites[28] Vācaspati is perhaps also his contemporary.[29]

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26. Frauwallner in *WZKM* 38, (1932), 231f.

27. *Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi* in: *Six Buddha-nyāya Tracts*, Bibli. Ind. (1910), p. 58, 16 and *Apohasiddhi* ibid, p. 7. 14.

28. *Nayaviveka* (Madras 1937, Madras University S. S. 12), p. 275, 10.

29. The Advaitin Ānandabodha was perhaps a pupil of Vimuktātman. He cites in his *Pramāṇamālā* a verse from *Iṣṭasiddhi* with the introductory words etadevoktam gurubhiḥ (See Hiriyanna's Introduc-

If Vācaspatimiśra had lived in the second half of the 10th century, if on the other hand, Jayantabhaṭṭa had lived towards the end of the 9th century, then the word Guru occurring in the introduction of *Nyāyakaṇikā* where Vācaspati refers[30] to the author of *Nyāyamañjarī* with this word be however no more so understood viz. Jayantabhaṭṭa may have been the direct teacher of Vācaspati. It is however not excluded that the word Guru in the maṇgala-verse can be understood in a different sense. Further we have to take into consideration the possibility that in a train of teachers Vācaspati indirectly was a pupil of Jayantabhaṭṭa.

The assignment of Jayantabhaṭṭa after Vācaspati may have been wrong since this fact has hindered a deserving estimation of *Nyāyamañjarī* for a long time. One considers Vācaspatimiśra's *Tātparyaṭīkā* as an ancient source for *Nyāyamañjarī*. Even the Mss. like *Saulis Introduzione* (1913) and *Strauss Indische Philosophie* (1925) do not refer to Jayanatabhaṭṭa even once. Only Dasgupta in his *History* (1922) Vol. I quotes rather extensively from the text and *Frauwallner* expressly points out in his article "Jayantabhaṭṭa and His Sources" which concerns the significance of *Nyāyamañjarī* wherein he expresses his opinion that Jayantabhaṭṭa as the Doyen of Nyāya is decisively worthier than the exhorbitant overestimate of Vācaspatimiśra.[31] Even apart from Nyāya *Nyāyamannñjarī* deserves attention. Expositions e.g. the

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tion to *Iṣṭasiddhi* ed. p. XIII). Vimuktātman as we shall see ought to be placed before Vācaspatimiśra. He quotes only Bhavanātha who on his part quotes Vācaspatimiśra (see Prastāvika of *Nayaviveka* ed. [Madras 1937] p. XXXIII and the previous notes). It may be presumed that the word guru quoted in the above sentence from the *Pramāṇamālā* of Ānandabodha alludes to the direct teacher. Thus, Bhavanātha is also a contemporary of Vācaspatimiśra.

30. See above p. 160 anm. 3.

31. *WZKM* 43 p. 264.

justification of all scriptures[32] would deserve thorough consideration in an exposition of Hinduism. Thanks to his all round learning which causes his opponents to quote him extensively, he not only gives extensive information about the position achieved in his time of his own system but does so of other schools also.

Jayantabhaṭṭa principally informs about Vedānta in *Nyāyamañjarī*.[33] As has been admitted by Kuppuswami Śāstri that he supports himself on Maṇḍana's *Brahmasiddhi*.[34] In particular, beginning from *Nyāyamājarī*[35] up to the conclusion of the Pūrvapakṣa Maṇḍana's thoughts are very exactly recapitulated, often in verbal agreement with that of *Brahmasiddhi*.[36] The beginning of the passage[37] embraces Maṇḍana's doctrine about the plurality or diversity (bheda) which is fundamentally developed in the second Kāṇḍa of *Brahmasiddhi*. Jayantabhaṭṭa allows the Vedāntin say: That is real which appears in perception as independent from others and directly as the essence of a thing, so the other is to be understood as imaginary.[38] Even here is repeated to a

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32. *Nyāyamañjarī* I p. 239–248. Cf. with respect to the above see the sentence translated for the date of Jayantabhaṭṭa.

33. II p. 96, 6–96, 9.

34. *Brahmasiddhi,* Introduction p. LIX.

35. II p. 96, 20.

36. What has been referred to by Jayantabhaṭṭa is mostly culled out from the pages 7–14 and 39 of *Brahmasiddhi* but herein the sequence if the thoughts is not the same as with Maṇḍanamiśra. A detailed proof is avoided by me with a view to save space and time.

37. p. 94, 7–16.

38. तत्र हि यदन्यानपेक्षतया झगिति पदार्थस्वरूपमवभासते तत् पारमार्थिकम् इतरत्काल्पनिकमिति गम्यते ।

Nyāyamañjarī II p. 94, 7–9. The thought is the transposition of a doctrine of Dharmakīrti to the static Monism of the Vedāntin Dharmakīrti who teaches that the object of pure perception is the momentary individualism of a thing. This however is to the being

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large extent the doctrine of Maṇḍana,[39] and the proof of Monism from perception is borrowed from Maṇḍana and how it is ascribed to Vedānta by Jayantabhaṭṭa and is looked upon for centuries in the realistic schools as the acme of Advaita doctrines.[40] It is highly remarkable, that the opponent has got information from Maṇḍana, the solitary being among the absolute monists and lets the monists, the supporters of Śaṅkara uncared for. Perhaps this refers to the fact that Maṇḍana had developed dialectics and therefore

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itself. तस्य (प्रत्यक्षस्य) .... तदेव परमार्थसत्। *Nyāyabindu*, Kashi Sanskrit Series 22, p. 21 and 23. With the Vedānta the thought is, that the pure perception is of the apparently visible but this in the Brāhmaṇic Vedānta is conceived as the differenceless, the constant one (brahman). According to Dharmakīrti the generality is attributed to the momentary individual and according to the Vedāntin the splitting or differentiation is attributed to the differentiation (bheda) of non-differentiation (abheda) of the one or the universal. Cf. also Stcherbatsky, *Logik u. Erkenntnish*, translated by Strauss, p. 145 ff.

39. Jayanatabhaṭṭa would have alluded to the doctrine of Maṇḍana viz. generality and particularity, further his differentiation between avikalpakam pratyakṣam and vikalpabuddhayaḥ ought to be exactly brought out. Cf. *Brahmasiddhi* II p. 71, 1–2: वस्तुमात्रविषयं प्रथममविकल्पकं प्रत्यक्षम्। तत्पूर्वास्तु विकल्पबुद्धयो विशेषानवगाहन्त इति सर्वप्रत्यात्मवेदनीयम्।

40. Even before Jayantabhaṭṭa Prabhākara Mīmāṁsaka Śālikanātha allows a vedāntin to say: प्रत्यक्षमेव विधिमात्रोपक्षीणमव्यापारमपरिस्पृष्टान्योन्यभेदम्। तदेकमेव तत्त्वं साक्षात्करोति। *Prakaraṇapañcikā*, Chowkh. S. S. 17 p. 154, 7–9. Here the expression प्रत्यक्षमेव विधिमात्रोपक्षीणम् exactly corresponds to विधातृप्रत्यक्षम् the Kārikā II of *Brahmasiddhi*. From *Śālikanātha's* work Bhavanātha borrows the doctrine of Maṇḍana (*Nayaviveka* p. 222. 3 प्रत्यक्ष् अस्पृष्टान्योन्यभेदंअद्वैतमानम् Later on (about 1100?) the Bhaṭṭa Mīmāmsaka Pārthasārathi Miśra informs about Maṇḍana preserving the aforesaid differentiation mentioned in the previous notes almost exactly as: तच्च (निर्विकल्पकं ज्ञानम्) सन्मात्रविषयं इति केचिद् भेदस्य विकल्पवेद्यत्वात्। *Śāstradīpikā*, Chowkh. S. S. 45 p. 110, 2. Even the Śrīvaiṣṇava Rāmānuja allows the Advaitin to prove his monism extensively by an analysis of perception (*Śrībhāṣya*, Bombay S. S. 68, p. 22).

appears a more worthy opponent than Śaṅkara and his school. But the attack of the realists hits also the supporters of the narrow school of Śaṅkara and even those who represent the Advaita. It was therefore inevitable that the problem of diversity and Monism was also discussed by him.

This new discussion had literally appeared in the *Iṣṭa-siddhi* of Vimuktātman and that too with redoubled prominence against the realists and against Maṇḍana.[41] Further, in a form which has through the opponent compelled dialectic refinement within the narrow school of Śaṅkara to a grade which was not attained up till now. Vimuktātman does discuss in general the problem of diversity but particularly discusses the process of seeing (dṛś) with the object seen (dṛśya)[42] and only incidentally he dialectically criticises the conception of diversity.[43] The unity of the process of seeing is self-proved.[44] Still, with entire Buddhistic argument[45] Maṇḍana has asserted the identity of the subject and the object.[46] Vimuktātman, on the other hand has discovered three possibilities for their mutual relation: diversity, indentity, and both diversity and identity together (*bheda, abheda,*

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41. The enmity of Vimuktātman against Maṇḍana regarding the question of proof for monism comes out implicitly from the exposition. But, Ānandabodha who was a direct or an indirect pupil of Vimuktātman (*a.o.O.* 164 anm. 4), catches hold of Maṇḍana's thesis directly and expressly (*Nyāyamakaranda,* Chowkh. S. S. II, p. 290, 9 ff.), and afterwards he has allowed a Prabhākara Mīmāṁsaka (with literal borrowal from the quoted passage in the previous portion of *Prakaraṇapañcikā*) to represent against the thesis of Maṇḍana. In general, Vimuktātman like all the supporters of the narrow school of Śaṅkara was an opponent of the doctrine of Maṇḍāna regarding the Āśraya of Avidyā and the *Jñānakarmasamuccaya.*

42. *Iṣṭasiddhi* p. 2–21.

43. *Iṣṭa.* p. 3.

44. *Iṣṭa.* I, I p. 23 and II 75 p. 240, 41 ff.

45. Cf. Vasubandhu, *Triṁśikā,* verses I and 17 (ed. S. Levi, Paris 1925, Bibl. de L' Éc. des Hautes Ét. 245).

46. *Brahmasiddhi* p. 7, 23-24.

bhedābheda). His achievement is that none of the three possibilities are suitable i.e. the relation is *anirvacanīya*.[47] And thereby even also this viz. that which stands in a real relation with a dṛś, the object, the world of appearance, is provable as *anirvacanīya*. This result at once allows the practical recognition of diversity between dṛś and dṛsya and to contain it inside the *dṛśya*. Vimuktātman represents the subtle diversity between prasiddhi and reasonableness (mānamūlatva) of diversity.[48] To a great extent, this suggests a new treatment of the problem and at the same time an improvement of thought in relation to Maṇḍana. We should therefore place Vimuktātman after Jayantabhaṭṭa who so to say does not even visibly know his thoughts that are sketched. The following observation thus leads to the same result and further more assigns Vimuktātman before Vācaspatimiśra.

The conception that is connoted by *anirvacanīya*, the discussion about which really forms the essential contents of *Iṣṭasiddhi* encourages Vimuktātman to form a new theory of error,[49] which is named by him as *anirvacanīyakhyāti*. Prior to him the Brāhmaṅic Advaitins had no theory of error of their own. The doctrine of *Adhyāsa* of Śaṅkarācārya was a contribution to such a one but he treated in reality the metaphysical cardinal error. The four theories of error[50] explained by other schools show how the knowledge of an illusory object is possible. The *Adhyāsa* doctrine on the other hand, explains how the relation of subject or the process of

47. *Iṣṭ*. p. 32–36.

48. *Ost*. p. II, 13-14.

49. The introduction of his theory by Vimuktātman (*Ist*. I, 9) makes an impression that he was the first who formulated it. I hope to come back to this on another occasion.

50. Anyathākhyāti or viparītakhyāti, akhyāti, ātmakhyāti, asatkhyāti.

seeing attains the position of objectivity. In the decisive conception of the theory (*Adhyāsa*) an assertion regarding the reality of the object of wrong knowledge is wanting. Maṇḍana had reorganised the theory of *anyathākhyātivāda* of the school of Kumārila for his own purpose.[51] But in reality, this realistic theory still badly suited to the illusiveness of the Advaitins. Jayantabhaṭṭa discusses in extenso the theory of illusion. He only knows the four[52] and among them there is no Advaitin. From this lacuna, in view of the wide extending informativeness of Jayatabhaṭṭa regarding the tenets of the opponents, it can be definitely concluded that about 890 A.D. such a theory did not exist. The conception of *anirvacaniya* was already known in the Advaita school viz. to Maṇḍana[53] and Śaṅkara[54] but Vimuktātman was the first to discuss extensively its contents. He founded the thesis that an object clothed in error ought to be *anirvacanīya*. This theory became the kernal of the Advaitins' doctrine of error.

Śrīvaiṣṇava Yāmuna, who according to tradition was bron in 918[55] is cited[56] by Vimuktātman. If the tradition is

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51. Cf. introduction to *Brahmasiddhi* p. LXII ff and introduction to Maṇḍanamiśra: *Vibhramaviveka* (Madras Oriental Series I, 1932) p. II.

52. *Nyāyamañjarī* II p. 110, 23: भ्रान्तज्ञानेषु चतुष्टयीगतिरात्मख्याति रसत्ख्यातिरख्याति विपरीतख्यातिर्वा। Exactly similar to *Nyāyamañjarī* I p. 162, 24 ff.

53. E.g. *Brahmasiddhi* p. 9, 14, 48, 7, 53, 16, 54, 20, 66, 22.

54. Cf. *ZDMG* 100 (1950) p. 255 and 261—264.

55. Dasgupta, *Hist. of Ind. Phil.* III p. 97. Even if the traditional death year be 1038, still, the birth year 918 cannot be correct. Vimuktātman may be placed at the turning of 10th cent. to the 11th.

56. Yāmuna informs in *Siddhitraya* (Chowkh. S. S. 10) p. 20, 12 ff. Vimuktātman's dogma has literal agreement with *Iṣṭ.*, e.g. *Siddhitraya* p. 20, 18-19 (अनुभूतेरनुभाष्यत्वे...... प्रसंङ्गात्) =*Iṣṭ.* I I p. I, 5-6, *Siddhitraya* p. 21, I (*yānubhūtiḥ*.......)=*Iṣṭ.* I I p. I, I.

believable to an extent he functioned at least by the 10th cent. A.D.[57] His theory of error which Jayantabhaṭṭa does not as yet know is attacked[58] by Vācaspatimiśra. That an Advaitin who developed the theory and is as old as Vimuktātman is not well-known is to be assumed and that Vimuktātman is its originator and Vācaspati had really got acquainted with the theory of *Anirvacanīya* directly from him, directly from his works or through the intermediary of teachers. Vimuktātman is thus to be placed between Jayantabhaṭṭa and Vācaspatimiśra.

As is the case of *anirvacanīya* such is also a relation with *vivarta*[59] in so far as even this idea was known long before it was studied, defined and formulated to support the system. In the beginning it belonged to the *Śabdādvaitins* or the Vaiyākaraṇas. Maṇḍanamiśra was simultaneously aṇ *Ātmādvaitin* and *Śabdādvaitin*. In a special work,[60] he even defended the doctrine of sphoṭa which was turned down by the narrow school of Śaṅkara. Therefore, he was the one, who borrowed the terminology from the *Śabdādvaita* and employed it for *Ātmādvaita*. He understood it exactly in the sense of Vasubandhu's *Vijñānapariṇāma*. Śaṅkara employed the term *vivartatā* only in non-philosophi-

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57. From many arguments Hiriyanna's confirmation of the date of Vimuktātman (1st. ed., Intro. P. XIIff.) is to be considered as repeated.

58. *Nyāyavārtika-Tātparyaṭīkā* p. 55, 5–13.

59. The expositions of this and the next paragraph are partly (with additions and supplements of arguments) resume of the results of a treatise (Contributions to the History of the Term Vivarta) which I wrote a couple of years ago and the matter still remains unpublished which lies with an Indian Journal. In the expectation that the article will be published I here avoid giving proofs of the passages.

60. ***Sphoṭasiddhi,*** ed. Madras 1931 (Madras Uuniversity Samskrit Series).

cal sense of to develop itself or to become.[61] The word with him had no trace of its subsequent significance. On the other hand, with Padmapāda, *vivarta* already occurs in the sense of later *vivartavāda* of *Ātmādvaitins*. But the idea is still not definite. And still for a long time *vivarta* passes off as a term both for *Śabdādvaita* and *Ātmādvaita*. Even Vimuktātman, who employs the word occasionally in the sense of his own tenet, understands the idea primarily as belonging to the system of Vaiyākaraṇas and considers it in this context as rightly incontrovertible. The circumstance in the development of its conception as it ruled sovereign directly before Vimuktātman is reflected in *Nyāyamañjarī*. Even Jayantabhaṭṭa knows *vivartavāda* only as a constituent of *Śabdādvaita* philosophy. He even differentiates realistic probability of the world so comprehended (whereby vivarta=pariṇāma=vikāra) from the illusionistic conception and in an interesting manner he adds a theistic significance[62] to it.

On the other hand, we find with Vācaspatimiśra, the pure illusionistic definition of *vivartatā* causality codified from the later Ātmādvaita and the contrast of the same from regarding the concept of Pariṇāma.[63] The doctrine of Vedānta expounded by Vācaspatimiśra is again sublimely developed as compared with that as propounded in *Nyāyamañjarī*. Here likewise is the case of theories of error. The comparision of both the theories as expounded by Vācaspatimiśra (*anirvacanīyakhyātivāda* and *vivartavāda*) in the form in which they are represented are especially wanting in *Nyāyamañjarī*, a fact which thereby confirms the priority of Jayantabhaṭṭa over Vācaspatimiśra.

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61. *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* I. 3. 39, p. 378, 7, Kashi S.S. Ed.
62. *Nyāyamañjarī* II p. 102, 12—31.
63. *Tātparyaṭīkā* on *Nyāyasūtra* IV 19, p. 417 line13—16 pariṇāma, line 17-18, vivartate, further *Śāṅkhyatattvakaumudī* on Karikā 9 and *Bhāmatī* on *Brahmasūtra* I. 2. 21.

Vācaspatimiśra who was not essentially a Vedāntin may not have been the discoverer of a new theory of illusion. From which Advaitin had he then received training regarding *vivartavāda* as a constituent of *Ātmavāda* philosophy? In this case, Vimuktātman cannot be the giver of this training since he has not developed the Ātmādvaitic *vivartavāda* in a definite form. Perhaps it was Sarvajñātman, the author of *Saṅkṣepaśārīraka,* who first defined the concept of vivarta and of illusion in the sense of *Ātmādvaita* and contrasted it with the concept of Pariṇāma.[64] The fact that Sarvajñātman is younger than Vimuktāman is made out from this that he alludes[65] to the doctrine of *Pañcamaprakāra* than to the degree of reality of *Avidyānivṛtti.* This theory, in particular, had been propounded by Vimuktāman at first. He ought to be placed after Vimuktātman but before 976,[66] or latest by 976[67] particularly as an older contemporary of Vācaspatimiśra. It may be also investigated, if Prakāśātman the commentator of Padmapāda, can be assigned to 10th cent. A.D. Even he already knew the developed definition of *Vivarta.*[68]

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64. *Saṅkṣepaśārīraka* (Ānandaśrama S.S. 83) 65-66.

65. *Ibid,* IV 14.

66. *Iṣṭasiddhi* p. 85, 18—86, 3. Vimuktātman does not as yet coin the term *pañcamaprakāra* and gives the theory in the last Adhyāya of his work. Both these show that he was the first who had the idea. In the tradition there is Ānandabodha, the direct or the indirect pupil of Vimuktātman as the discoverer of this theory. Cf. Hiriyanna Intro. to *Iṣṭ.* p. XXXV f.

67. The tradition that Sarvajñātman may have been the pupil of Sureśvara we at best set aside. He mentions (*Sāṅkṣepaśārīraka* I 8 and IV 62) Deveśvara as his teacher who can be (Metra Causa) a synonymn of Sureśvara (as the commentators have it) but it need not be so.

68. Sarvajñātman mentions in *Saṅkṣepaśārīraka* (IV 62) a king named Manukulāditya. A prince of this name occurs in an inscription from Travancore which apparently belongs to the 10th cent. (cf. A. Balakrishna Pillai in: *Antiquary* 50 [1921] p. 136 f.). The inscriptional findings also appear to confirm the result of our investigation.

Let us now briefly bring together our results. Jayantabhaṭṭa wrote *Nyāyamañjarī* earliest by 890 A.D. Vācaspati's literary career can be assigned about 970—980 A.D. In between Jayantabhaṭṭa and Vācaspatimiśra were formulated the theories of *Anirvacanīyakhyāti* and *Vivartavāda*. The discoverer of the first is probably Vimuktātman, who in any case is to be placed between Jayantabhaṭṭa and Vācaspatimiśra. Even on that score, as he is certainly older than Sarvajñātman who appears to have lived in the 10th cent. A.D. Sarvajñātman is the first who has clearly defined the *Vivartavāda*[69] as a constituent of *Ātmādvaita* system.

Before bringing this article to a close I ought to express my deep sense of gratitude and indebtedness to the publisher and the author of the German article entitled, "*Jayantabhaṭṭa and Vācaspatimiśra ihre Zeit und ihre Bedeutung für die Chronologie des Vedānta.*" I acknowledge my indebtedness to Paul Hacker the author of this article. This article has been published in "*Beitrage Zur indischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*" brought out on the 70th birth anniversary of Walther Schübring, in the year 1951.

On 20—3—1963 I got a reply from Dr. Paul Hacker that he wrote this article before 1954 when he was at the *Mithila Institute* in Darbhanga as a Professor. He does not hold the same view now on the subject and he has no time now to bring about the requisite changes in the previous article. (*In einer Anmerkungen zu Anfang des Aufsatzes musste ausgesprochen werden dass ich heute nichte mehr in allem derselben Meinung bin wie damals, als ich den Aufsatz ver-*

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69. *Pañcapādikāvivaraṇa* (Vizianagram Sanskrit Series No. 5= Vol. 3) p. 212, 15—17. Its definition is similar to that of the Śabdādvaitins. cf. *Vṛtti* on Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* I (ed. Cārudeva Śāstri, Lahore 1934, p. 5, 7f., ed. of Benares S. S. [1887] p. I, 12 f.).

F. 3

farfasste, dass ich inn jedoch gegenwärtig leider nicht von neuem schreiben kann.)

I bring this article to a close with the following remarks of mine: Amongst the ancient authors of Nyāya, the last authority in this field is the author of *Nyāyamañjarī* and *Nyāyakalikā,* namely Jayantbhaṭṭa (A.D. 880) who flourished shortly after Vācaspatimiśra. An inhabitant of Kashmere refers to Vācaspatimiśra and he in turn is referred to by Devasūri (A.D. 1088—1169). Jayanta chooses some of the *Nyāyasūtras* for interpretation but dismisses the Nyāya views, independently criticises the views of other systems in a clear and delightfully lucid manner. The original work of the Cārvākas was written in Sūtras, probably by Bṛhaspati. Jayanta and Guṇaratna quote two sūtras from it and Jayanta gives a short account of this school. The *Nyāyamañjarī* of Jayanta is far more comprehensive than Vācaspati's *Tātparyaṭīkā.* Haribhadrasūri who is assigned to the 8th cent. A.D. knows Jayantabhaṭṭa. This is a good proof for the fixation of the date of Jayantabhaṭṭa.

Traditionally, it is accepted that Māmalla was the sister's son of Mammaṭa, the author of *Kāvyaprakāśa* and that the family did not migrate from Bengal as is the case of Gauḍa Abhinanda, the author of *Kādambarīkathāsāra* and the son of the famous Jayantabhaṭṭa, the author of *Nyāyamañjarī* and *Āgamaḍambara.* In the 11th cent. Abhinanda, a native of Kashmere calls himself a Gauḍa in his *Kādambarīkathāsāra,* since Śaktiswāmin, the grandfather of his grandfather went to Kashmere from Bengal in the reign of King Lalitāditya of Kashmere who invaded and settled there.

GOD AS THE AUTHOR OF THE VEDAS*

By HEM CHANDRA JOSHI†

In the second chapter of his far-famed *Nyāyakusumāñjali* Udayana addresses himself to the task of establishing that Īśvara is the author of the Vedas. He also takes note of the views held by the Mīmāṁsakas and the Sāṅkhyas on the question and proves that their views are untenable. This short paper seeks to explain in brief the arguments by which Udayana proves that Īśvara is the author of the Vedas. In this connection we have to bear in mind that his arguments are chiefly addressed to the Mīmāṁsakas and the Sāṅkhyas who do not question the authority of the Vedas but rather differ from the Naiyāyikas regarding the basis of that authority. As regards the Buddhists and others who challenge the authority of the Vedas they have first to be convinced that the Vedas are also one of the sources of valid knowledge and the only source of transcendental knowledge at that, a task which Udayana has accomplished in the first chapter of the *Nyāyakusumāñjali,* and then only can the arguments regarding the Divine authorship of the Vedas be advanced against them also. So in the second chapter of *Nyāyakusumāñjali* Udayana has merely to prove that the authority of the Vedas rests on the fact that they are the work of Īśvara. We shall see how.

The Mīmāṁsakas, the Sāṅkhyas and the Naiyāyikas believe that performance of sacrifices such as the Jyotiṣṭoma and Kārīrī produce a 'quality' (guṇa) in the 'agent' (*kartā*) which they call 'Adṛṣṭa' or 'Apūrva'. It is this 'Adṛṣṭa' or 'Apūrva' which secures for the agent such rewards as heaven,

* Read at the 26th International Congress of Orientalists, Delhi, 1964.

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rain and the like. The knowledge that the performance of a particular sacrifice leads to a particular reward cannot be acquired by ordinary means of knowledge like perception and inference. The only source of this knowledge is the Vedas. In other words, the Vedas are the exclusive source of this supersensible knowledge. This Vedic prerogative is recognised by the Mīmāṁsakas, the Sāṅkhyas and the Naiyāyikas alike. But the question that crops up in this connection is: what is the basis of the Vedic authority? What is it due to? The three systems have quite different explanations to offer.

The Naiyāyikas maintain that Īśvara is the author of the Vedas. He is credited with eternal knowledge of all supersensible matters. The Vedas speak of matters supersensible. They are constituted of sentences which are reducible to words which in their turn are made up of letters such as 'a', 'i', 'u', 'k', and 'kh'. These letters are non-eternal entities being subject to origination and destruction. Thus the Vedas also turn out to be non-eternal and hence they must be supposed to have some author. None among the empirical selves can claim to possess eternal and uncontradicted knowledge of supersensible matters. So an omniscient God alone can be the author of the Vedas.

The Mīmāṁsakas rule out altogether the necessity of postulating any author of the Vedas. They put forth several basic principles in this connection. Firstly, they maintain that the Vedas are collection of words or Śabdas. By 'śabda' they mean a dravya or substance which is eternal. What we mistakenly believe to be its origination or '*utpatti*' is only its manifestation or '*abhivyakti*'. Thus, the Vedas are also eternal or 'nitya'. Nor do we know of any author of the Vedas. And as for the 'Ṛṣis' or 'Seers' they are not the

authors of the hymns and other portions of the Vedas. To them the Vedas were only revealed. In other words, they are not *'Mantra-Kartāraḥ'* but *'Mantra-Draṣṭāraḥ'*. Secondly, all knowledge is intrinsically valid (*svataḥ-pramāṇa*). It fails us only when its source is vitiated by some defect. We find in ordinary everyday life that a verbal statement is misleading or 'apramāṇa' when (i) the author of the statement does not possess the right knowledge of the thing he speaks of or (ii) he makes the statement thoughtlessly or (iii) he deliberately makes a wrong statement. These defects vitiate the statement and render the same unauthoritative. These defects are respectively called 'bhrama', 'pramāda' and 'vipralipsā'. The Vedas have had eternal existence. They have no author (a-pauruṣeya). The aforesaid defects do not vitiate them. Thus they are also 'pramāṇa' or a source of right knowledge.

The Sāṅkhyas also do not believe in the existence of God. But they are also reckoned as orthodox or 'āstika' in that they recognise the authority of the Vedas. According to their system of thought the Vedas are neither composed by God nor are they eternal. However, the truths embodied therein are eternal and are revealed to those who attain spiritual perfection by the practice of Yoga. Sage Kapila is the first and foremost among such 'perfect' beings. He is known as *'Ādi-Vidvān'*. Having 'seen' these truths he taught them to his pupils. Thus according to the Sāṅkhya also God is not the author of the Vedas.

Criticism of the Mīmāṁsā View

Udayana in refuting the Mīmāsaka view first of all lays down a general rule that both validity and invalidity of knowledge depend upon extraneous factors. We cannot say

that all knowledge is, as a rule, valid unless its source is vitiated by some defect. Knowledge does not depend for its validity merely on the general factors that give rise to it. The contact of tactual sense with 'manas' is the general condition of all knowledge according to the Nyāya. Just as erroneous knowledge is due to certain additional factors besides the general factor viz. 'tvaṅ-manaḥ-saṁyoga' and these additional factors are called 'doṣas' or defects, even so validity (prāmāṇya) depends upon additional factors known as 'guṇa' or merit.[1] If validity depended only on the general factors that give rise to knowledge then invalid knowledge would also turn out to be valid as invalid knowledge also is caused by those general factors. Otherwise it would cease to be knowledge either.[2] It cannot be said that it is the additional factor in the form of some defect that render the resultant invalid. For, it can be as well held that the additional factor in the form of absence of defect is what constitutes 'guṇa' or merit in the case of valid knowledge. And when the defect happens to be of negative character such as non-perception of some determining characteristic as in the case of doubt (Saṁśaya), the absence of defect assumes a positive form. As for instance, when we are in doubt whether an object before us is a man or a dried-up tree we fail to perceive the special characteristic of a man or a dried-up tree. This failure to perceive the special characteristic is responsible for this doubt. And the absence of this defect would mean either we perceived the special characteristic of a man or of a dried-up tree which in its turn would give us the definite knowledge of either a man or a dried-up tree as the case may be. The

1. Pramā Jñāna hetv-atirikta-hetv-adhīnā, kārya-tve sati tadviśeṣatvāt, apramāvat/*Nyāya-kusumāñjali* II p. 72 lines 1-2. Tirupati edition.

2. Yadi ca tāvan-mātra-adhīnā bhavet, a-pramā-api pramā-eva bhavet. Asti hi tatra jñāna-hetuḥ. Anyathājñānam-api sā na syāt. *Ibid.,* II p. 72 lines 2-3.

absence of defect here is of the nature of perception which has a positive form (*vidhi-rūpa*).[3] So we have to admit that it is 'guṇa' or merit in the condition of knowledge which makes it valid. *'Indriyārtha-Sannikarṣa'* or the contact of the sense and the object is what constitutes 'guṇa' in the case of perception (pratyakṣa). 'Parāmarśa' is admitted as 'guṇa' in the case of inference or 'anumāna'. *'Vākyārtha-viṣayaka Yathārthajñāna'* or the right knowledge of the content of a verbal statement is recognised as 'guṇa' in the case of verbal knowledge or Śābdī pramā'.

Nor would it do to say that in the case of verbal statements what constitute defect are 'bhrama', 'vipralipsā' and 'pramāda' on the part of the author of the statement, but that the Vedas being 'a-pauruṣeya' the question of the presence of these vitiating factors does not arise in their case and thus they are authoritative. For, the mere fact of absence of 'guṇa' in the case of the Vedas is sufficient to undermine their authority. The rule, as pointed out earlier, is that the presence of 'merit' and 'defect' respectively determine the validity and invalidity of any given knowledge. We cannot maintain that invalidity is due to the presence of defects and validity due to the absence thereof. As for instance, we cannot say that 'nivṛtti' is due to 'dveṣa' or aversion and that 'pravṛtti' is due to the absence of 'dveṣa'. But we have to admit that 'nivṛtti' is due to 'dvesa' and that 'pravṛtti' is due to 'rāga'. Thus, we see that the presence of 'guṇa' in the condition that gives rise to knowledge is essential to assure its validity. Thus the Vedas can be authoritative only

3. Jñāna-tve apy-atirikta-doṣānupraveśād apramā iti cet-evam tarhi doṣābhāvam adhikam āsādya pramā api jāyeta Astu doṣābhāvo adhikaḥ, bhāvastu neṣyate-iti cet- bhaved evam api, yadi niyamena doṣaiḥ bhāva rupair eva bhavitavyam. Na tv-evam, viśeṣā-darśanāder abhāvasyāpi doṣatvāt, katham anyathā saṁśaya-viparyayau? Tatas tad-abhāvabhava eva iti kathạm sa neṣyate. Ibid. II p. 75 lines 1—4.

if they have an author who can be credited with possessing the right knowledge of such supersensible matters as the performance of Jyotiṣṭoma Sacrifice securing heaven for the agent and the like. God alone answers to this description.[4]

As regards the question whether *śabda* is eternal or not we have to bear the following in mind. The Naiyāyikas understand by *śabda* the audible sound which is obviously transient. And this they believe to be the specific quality of Ākāśa. Whereas the Mīmāṁsakas aver that *śabda* is an eternal substance (*dravya*) and the audible sound is only its manifestation. We mistake its manifestation (*abhivyakti*) for its origination (*utpatti*). Udayana says that it is not logically possible to maintain that 'Sabda' is eternal. Perceptual evidence goes against such a view. The letters (*varṇas*) such as 'k', 'kh' etc., are not eternal, for the fact of their destruction is perceived by us as when we say "the sound 'ga' which was heard before does not exist now". It cannot be said that the *Śabda* has gone elsewhere as it is *a-mūrta* or incorporeal. Nor is it enveloped or concealed due to the same fact (*viz.* that it is *a-mūrta*). One cannot either say that the listener does not hear it as he is inattentive for inspite of being attentive he does not hear it. Nor is it that his auditory sense organ has suddenly developed some defect for other sounds are audible to him. And so on.[5]

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4. Anyatra yathā tathā astu, Śābde tāvat vipralipsādyabhāve vaktṛguṇāpekṣā nāsti iti cet, na-guṇābhāve tad-aprāmāṇyasya vaktṛ-doṣāpekṣā nāsti iti viparyayasyāpi tulyatvāt. *Ibid* p. 75 line 8 and p. 76 lines 1-2.

Tasmād yathā dveṣa-rāga-avinābhāvepi rāga-dveṣayor anuvidhāna-niyamāt pravṛtti-prayatnayo rāgadveṣa-kāraṇatvam, na tu nivṛtti prayatno dveṣa-hetukaḥ pravṛtti-prayatnas tu saty api rāganuvidhāne dveṣābhāvahetukaḥ iti vibhāgo yujyate-viśeṣābhāvāttathā prakṛte api. *Ibid* p. 76 line 10 and p. 77 lines 1–3.

5. Na hi varṇā eva tāvan nityāḥ! Tathā hi 'Śrutapūrvo ga-kāro nāsti', nivṛttaḥ kolāhalaḥ', iti pratyakṣeṇaiva śabdadhvaṁsaḥ pratīyate!

Thus, we see that even the 'varṇas' are not eternal. Then how can the words be eternal—words which are collections of letters following a particular order depending on the will of the speaker! Thus, the sentence also cannot be eternal which is nothing but transient words arranged in a particular order. And the Vedas which are a collection of sentences! How can they be eternal?[6]

At this the Mīmāṁsaka might say. "Let Śabda and therefore, the Vedas be 'anitya' in the sense that they are subject to origination and destruction but still the Vedic tradition can be 'nitya' as handed down from teacher to pupil in a series. Thus, there was no period of time when this tradition was not there. Therefore, the need for postulating God as the author of the Vedas does not arise". Udyana says that such a view as assumes an eternal unbroken Vedic tradition is untenable for this world undergoes periodical creation and destruction. So even if we assume that during the period when the world exists the Vedic tradition may be handed down from teacher to pupil in a series, we cannot help assuming that when the world is destroyed at the end of a cycle the Vedic tradition also comes to an end. Then at the beginning of another cycle there must be somebody who can once again initiate the Vedic tradition which was lost at the end of the previous cycle.[7] Thus God must be

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Na hi Śabda eva anyatra gataḥ, amūrtatvāt. nāpyāvṛtaḥ, tata eva sambandha vicchedānupapatteḥ! Nāpyanavahitaḥ śrotā, avadhānepi anupalabdheḥ! nāpi indriyam duṣṭam, śabdāntaropalabdheḥ! ...... *Nyāyaku.* II p. 86 lines 3—6.

6. Yadā ca varṇā eva na nityāḥ, tadā kaiva kathā puruṣavivakṣādhīna-ānupūrvyādi-viśiṣṭa-varṇa-samūha-rūpāṇām padānāṁ? Kutastarām ca tat-samūha-racanā-viśeṣa-svabhāvasya vākyasya? Kutastamām ca tat-samūhasya vedasya? *Nyāya-Kusumāñjali* II. p. 117 p. 117 lines 1—3.

7. Paratantra-puruṣa-paramparādhīnatayā pravāhāvicchedam-eva nityatām brūmaḥ iti cet-etad api nāsti sarga-pralayasambhavāt. *Ibid.* II p. 117 lines 4-5.

F. 4

supposed to compose the Vedas afresh at the beginning of each creation.

As against this the Mīmāṁsaka points out the following difficulties in assuming the doctrine of periodical Creation and Destruction. 1. We find that each day-and-night is preceded by another day-and-night. There is no deviation from this succession of days-and-nights. Thus, we cannot reasonably presume that there was a first day-and-night at the beginning of the Creation. Because according to the law that each day-and-night is preceded by another day-and-night whichever day-and-night we take to be the first in the series we are at once constrained to admit that that day-and-night itself was preceded by another day-and-night and that by another and so on *ad infinitum*. 2. The 'Jīvas' (empirical selves) undergo retributive experience as a result of their *Karmans* performed during their lives in previous births. And the 'Jīvas' are innumerable. To say that the universe is destroyed at the end of a cycle amounts to saying that all the 'Karmans' of all the 'Jīvas' somehow become inoperative simultaneously. But this is not possible as the 'Karmans' of the different 'Jīvas' are supposed to bear fruit at different points of time. Thus universal deluge is inconceivable. 3. The Brahmins are born of Brahmin parents and the Kṣatriyas of Kṣatriya parents. This is true of individuals of all the 'varṇas'. This means that if we recognise universal deluge we cannot explain the birth of the first Brāhmin, the first Kṣatriya etc. at the beginning of subsequent Creation. The use of the words like 'ghaṭa' and 'paṭa' depends upon the knowledge of their conventional meanings and this knowledge is acquired as a result of unbroken usage of the words. But this is not possible if we suppose that this universe periodically undergoes destruction and creation. At the beginning of each creation there would be no one

who knew the conventional meaning of words and thus the words would not come to be used at all. The different arts such as those of making jar and cloth are also traditional. A potter learns to make a jar from his teacher and the latter from his teacher and so on. This presupposes that the world with all its traditional arts has been there always. The possibility of universal deluge is thus precluded. Udayana meets these objections in the following manner. As regards the first objection it may be said that each day-and-night is preceded by another day-and-night only during the period of the existnce of the universe. That is, the existence of the Universe (bhava) is the 'upādhi' or condition for the operation of the so-called law of each day-and-night being preceded by another day-and-night. We see that each rainy day is preceded by another rainy day. But this does not mean that the rainy season is an unending affair. This succession of rainy days is possible only when the sun enters the 'siṁha', or 'Kanyā' rāśi (Zodiacal sign of Leo or Virgo). In this case the conjunction of the sun with the two 'rāśis' is the 'upādhi'.

As to the second difficulty raised by the opponent it may be pointed out that during the state of dreamless sleep the 'Jīva' does not undergo any retributive experience (bhoga). But that does not mean that all his 'Karmans' have been worked out. Only the operation of the *law of Karman* is suspended temporarily, in his case. By the same logic the operation of the *law of Karman* remains suspended during the time of universal déluge for an unusually long period to enable all the 'Jīvas' to enjoy the much needed rest. *Praśastapāda* likens this state of 'Pralaya' to one long long 'night'.

The difficulty regarding the knowledge of the conventional meaning of words and the various arts like those of making jar and cloth can be met in the following manner.

A juggler directs a wooden doll (controlled by moving strings) to bring such and such a thing and the doll does it accordingly. The child who watches all this comes to understand the meaning of words. Even so God assumes different bodies and the first-born children, who hear their conversation and watch their actions, learn the meaning of words. God also appears as teacher of various arts at the beginning of Creation.[8]

Proof for Periodical Creation

It can be established that this world has not been there always. It was created sometime in the hoary past. That is, there was a time when this world did not exist. This world, which is a series of things; was created by material causes (*viz.* the 'paramāṇus' or atoms of the four elements) which were devoid of visible series at one time, because it (the world of series) is a series, like the series of fire generated from flints.[9] To explain, the series of fire is generated from the "paramāṇus" which were devoid of the visible series before the series was generated. Even so the world (also a series) was generated by materieal causus, viz., the 'paramāṇus' which were previously devoid of visible series.

There is yet another argument to prove periodical Creation. The 'paramāṇus' constituting the present universe generated other series of the same genus before, because

8. Samayo api eken eva māyāvinā iva, vyutpādya-vyutpādaka-bhāvāvasthita-nānā-kāryādhiṣṭhānāt vyavahārataḥ eva sukaraḥ/Yathā hi māyāvī Sūtra-sañcārādhiṣṭhitam dāru-putra-kam 'Idam ānaya' iti prayuṅkte, sa ca dāru-putrakas tathā karoti/Tadā cetanavyavahārād iva tad-darśī bālo vyutpadyate, tathā iha api syāt Kriyā-vyutpattis tata eva kulāla-kuvindā-dīnām—*N. Ku.* II p. 122 lines 5-6, p. 123 lines 1-3.

9. Sargādau kim pramāṇam iticed viśva-saṁtānoyam dṛśya-saṁtānaśūnyaiḥ samavāyibhir ārabdhaḥ, Saṁtānatvāt, āraṇeye-saṁtānavat. *N. Ku* II p. 123 lines 4-5.

being eternal, they generate series like the 'paramāṇus' of fire.[10] The 'paramāṇus' of fire that generate a particular series have generated other series previously. Even so the 'paramāṇus' constituting the present universe had generated similar universe in the past.

One may, however, argue like this. The accretion and withdrawal of parts may be looked upon as production and destruction respectively and yet the series may continue. But then there would arise the contingency of the absence of break in the continuity of the jar etc. even after they are destroyed. If it is said that things like jar and cloth are destroyed not because they are links in a series but because they afford 'bhoga' or experience of pleasure and pain to the 'Jīvas' and when the period of 'bhoga' is over they are destroyed or cease to exist, then in that case the 'dvyaṇuka' or binary would not be destroyed as it does not cause any 'bhoga'.

Extinction of the Vedic Tradition

It is not only that the Vedic tradition comes to an end at the end of a cycle, it is apt to become extinct even before. This is proved by inference. We see that gradual deterioration has been going on in all spheres of life viz. birth, 'purification', education and observances.[11] This is a pointer to the extinction of Vedic tradition even before the world is destroyed. To explain. Formerly children were born through mere will (e.g. Sanaka and Sanandana were born by the mere will of Brahmā), then they were born through conjugal union which had child-birth as its sole purpose; then they were

10. Vartamāna-brahmāṇḍa-paramāṇavaḥ pūrvamutpādita-sajātīya santānāntaraḥ nityatve sati tad-ārambhakatvāt, pradīpaparamāṇuvat. *N.Ku.* II p. 123 lines 5—7.

11. Janma-Saṁskāra-vidyādeḥ śakteḥ svādhyāyakarmaṇoḥ' Hrāsa-darśanato hrāsaḥ saṁpradāyasya mīyatām. *N.Ku.* II verse 2.

born as inevitable result of sexual enjoyment; now they are born as a result of the operation of the law of beasts (i.e. the law of promiscuity). Formerly 'Saṁskāra' or purification was effected in the sacrificial vessel etc., then in the body etc. (of the wife), then during the pregnancy but now only after the child is born. The deterioration in the field of education also can be observed. Formerly the Vedas were studied in all their thousand recensions, then as classified (into four parts), then only one together with its six subsidiaries (*aṅgas*). And now only one recension is studied and that too in some places only. Formerly the Brahmins lived by *Ṛta* (livelihood by picking up grains in a field), then by 'Amṛta' (i.e. on food received without asking for it), then by 'Mṛta' (begging) and then by agriculture. Similarly in the matter of observance of religious duties too one can notice gradual deterioration. 'Dharma', when observed in toto, is constituted of four items figuratively spoken of as its four feet viz. 'tapas' (penance), 'jñāna' (knowledge), 'Yajña' (Sacrifice) and 'dāna' (charity). Formerly 'Dharma' had all its four legs uninjured. Then penance having declined, it became only three-legged. Subsequently there was dwindling of knowledge and it became two-legged. Then followed the time when performance of sacrifices went into disfavour and thus remained only one leg viz. charity. And that too has become deformed on account of several factors such as vitiated source of income, want of faith, avarice and anger. All this leads us to conclude that while there has been deterioration in all walks of life, the tradition of Vedic studies cannot be an exception to it. Thus the Vedas are also bound to become extinct some day. The Gracious God thus has to incarnate Himself from time to time whenever there is decline of religious morality in order to effect resurrection of Dharma which can pre-eminently be known from the Vedas. This is corroborated by the *Gita* as follows:—

"O, descendant of Bharata, whenever there is a decay of Dharma (Law) and there is the ascendency of Adharma (chaos), then I send myself forth (as an incarnation)."

"For the protection of the virtuous, and for the destruction of the evil-doers, and for the establishment of Dharma, I am born in cycle after cycle."[12] At this the follower of the Sāṅkhya steps in and says that he does not object to recognising periodical Creation and Destruction of the Universe and yet there is no need to bring in God as the author of the Vedas at the beginning of each Creation or at any time when Dharma decays. Great sages like Kapila had attained perfection through Karman and Yoga. They have had vision of transcendental Dharma. Taking pity on suffering humanity they could (indeed they did) show the path of Dharma to them. That is, they could as well be looked up on as author (or teachers) of the Vedas. In reply to the above Udayana says that it is not possible to trust anyone else except the Omniscient God in matters which belong to the transcendetal sphere[13] on account of the following difficulties.

Contemplation or intuition (bhāvanā) may be looked upon by the Sāṅkhya as means of knowing what is supersensible. But it cannot be guaranteed that contemplation or intuition is always infallible. Nor can it be said that that intuitive knowledge is necessarily true which is in agreement with that produced by other means of knowledge for such knowledge as that non-injury (*Ahiṁsā*) is conducive to one's good cannot be acquired by any other means of know-

12. Ch. IV verses 7 & 8. (Translation of the *Nyāyakusumāñjali* pp. 96-97 by Ravitīrtha).

13. Tad-anyasmin anāśvāsāt. *N.Ku.* II. verse 1.

ledge (like perception or inference). Scripture cannot be invoked in support of intuition or contemplation as scripture itself is based on intuitive knowledge according to the opponent. The Sāṅkhya might say that certain portions of the Vedas are authoritative. This could be ascertained if one carried on certain injunctions found therein. That performance of *Putreṣṭi* (sacrifice prescribed for securing birth of a son) and Kārīrī (another sacrifice performed for bringing about rain) is fruitful can be seen in this life. Thus, we can assume that the remaining portions of the Vedas are also authoritative. Udayana points out that we cannot argue like this. For some dreams come true but that does not mean that we can rely on dreams. Nor can one contemplate on something absolutely unknown. The cowards imagine thieves and serpents familiar to them.

Moreover, it is said that sages attain perfection through Karman and Yoga. But how did they come to know the efficacy of Karman and Yoga themselves. Knowing Karman and Yoga as they are is of no avail. No body would take to Karman and practice of Yoga unless their efficacy is known to him. Nor can contemplation point the way. For unless the efficacy of contemplation is known one cannot engage oneself in it. The relation of cause and effect between the performance of some rite and the particular fruit thereof cannot be ascertained by anybody, for the performance of the rite and the reaping the reward thereof, take place in different lives. Thus, the fruit of a particular action being unknown the action will not be performed and in the absence of the performance there will be no reaping of fruit and thus again, the relation of cause and effect as between a 'karman' and its fruit will never be known. No one ever knows that he is experiencing the fruits of a particular deed done in his previous life.

It will thus be seen that nobody, howsoever wise, can be credited with knowledge of supersensible things. This precludes the possibility of any one, may he be Kapila or any other sage, being the author of the Vedas. Only God, who is Ever Perfect, who is Omniscient, can be the author of the Vedas.

N.B.—The pages referred to in the paper are those of the Tirupati edition of the *Nyāya-Kusumāñjali.*

REVISIONS OF THE MANUSMṚTI AND THE BACKGROUND OF THESE—A FRESH STUDY

By DR. R. S. BETAI*

1. *The Importance of the Manusmṛti*

The importance of the *Manusmṛti* in the realm of Hindu Dharmaśāstra, i.e., Hindu science of sociology is too well-known. Even the statement 'Whatever is stated by Manu is (wonderful) medicine'[1] is far and deep sighted and rightly have most of the later writers, beginning with the Sūtra work of Vasiṣṭha followed him with reverence. Yājñavalkya shows an advance on Manu in so far as he systematises sociological laws further and shows his greater interest in court law-VYAVAHĀRA. Nārada concentrates almost his whole attention on this court-law. But both these authors on the whole follow Manu and Yājñavalkya actually quotes Manu as the first and the foremost authority on Dharmaśāstra.[2] The later Nibandha writers are divided into various schools and still, all the schools accept Manu's unique authority. Here, particularly significant is the fact that the *MITĀKṢARĀ* school and the *DĀYABHĀGA* school are diametrically opposed on so many problems, that of DĀYA in particular and yet, both claim to interpret Manu correctly.

2. *Various Revisions of the Work*

It is interesting to note that this work, unlike all others almost on the subject, has suffered various revisions. Tradition has created a famous revision theory about the work.

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1. यद्वै किं च मनुरवदत्तद्भेषजम्।

2. मन्वत्रिविष्णुहारीतयाज्ञवल्क्योशनोऽङ्गिराः। etc. 1. 4.

The present author of the work actually writes that 'this is Manu's order'[3] and 'this is what Manu has stated'[4] etc. at several places, showing thereby that in the work known after Manu, some later editor actually quotes Manu as an authority. Even the beginning of the work states that the sages approached Manu and requested him to quote in fullest details, the duties of the Varṇas, the Āśramas and others.[5] He taught these to *Bhṛgu* and then he was entrusted with the task of composing the work.[6] Unlike all other Smṛti works, the present work begins with a theory of God and a theory of the Origin of Creation and also ends in the famous theory of Karma and these are subjects not directly connected with Dharmaśāstra. There are again several mutually differing, even contradictory statements and there are several views that find repetition. A careful and detailed study of these has shown to me that the present *Manusmṛti* is the result of atleast three revisions or editions but definitely not in accordance with the traditional view. In the present paper, I try to prove this my contention.

Remarkable Features

The following are some of the most remarkable features that guide us in the development of our subject. The traditional view of the revisions of the *Manusmṛti* and the gradual shorter work, is not rejected outright, though my con-

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3. एतद्वै मनुरब्रवीत् and तन्मनोरनुशासनम्। to be found at several places in the work.

4. एतद्वै मनुरब्रवीत्। to be found at several places in the work.

5. भगवन्सर्ववर्णानां यथावदनुपूर्वशः। I. 2.
अन्तरप्रभवाणां च धर्मान्नो वक्तुमर्हसि॥

6. एतद्वोऽयं भृगुः शास्त्रं श्रावयिष्यत्यशेषतः।
एतद्धि मत्तोऽधिजगे सर्वमेषोऽखिलं मुनिः॥ I. 60.

tention is that mine is naturally a rational and reasonable view, not based on mere conjecture. The textual peculiarities prove the three revisions in question.

(1) We come across the theory of the origin of Creation and the theory of God at the commencement of the first Adhyāya and the theory of karma at the end of the twelfth Adhyāya.

(2) The writer has, before starting to give his various theories on the sociological problems discussed by him, stressed the Universality of Desire and Action at the commencement of the second Adhyāya, from where the long discussion on the subject proper starts.

(3) We come across several repetitions of ideas on several problems dealt with in the work.

(4) Some of the topics get a varying incomplete treatment at several places in the work, where verses known to have been written by Manu but not found in the present work, exactly fit in.

(5) Contradictory views are given on several of the problems.

(6) A remarkable difference in outlook is found amongst the probable writers or the editors of the work, at some important places, in the Smṛti.

Let us now discuss a few details of these -remarkable features.

(i) *Philosophical Theories*

Buhler states that "Difficult as the historical problems are, which the Dharmasūtras offer, they are infinitely less complicated than those connected with the metrical law books,

and especially with the *Manusmṛti*."[7] He adds with reference to the philosophical sections that "The whole of the first chapter must be considered a later addition. No Dharmaśāstra begins with a description of its own origin, much less with an account of creation."[8] It is true that the topics are purely philosophical and not directly connected with Dharmaśāstra meaning 'Sociology' or 'Law'. They are yet not to be rejected so easily because, with a careful study we find that they serve a specific purpose in the arrangement of the work. The two topics at the commencement of the work lay down (i) The Theory of God, the creator of the universe, the earth and also man for whom these laws are laid down. (ii) The author commences with the declaration of his and that of all Hindus, unstinted faith in God. (iii) The description of the theory of creation gives a clear picture of man in the realm of God after showing how God has created the universe. (iv) It also suggests to man how small he is in this vast realm of God and that naturally makes him humble. (v) At the same time it shows to man what potentialities there are in him and how he should develop them. (vi) The discussion on the topics is necessary also because Manu wants to suggest divine origin of the Dharmaśāstra rules.

From the second to the eleventh Adhyāyas, man's eternal *Ācāra* is laid down, his duties and works in the world are stressed. Then in the twelfth Adhyāya, there follows the famous theory of Karma, that promises very rich this-worldly as also other-worldly rewards to man, even though the theory does not surely lay down purely desireless conscious Karma as the *Gītā* does. Manu stresses that these Karmas in the world are essential, a 'must' and at the same time, they do not tie down man to a series of births and this mortal existence.

7. Vide his Intro. to his edition p. xi.
8. Vide his Intro. to his edition p. lxvi.

The importance of this philosophical outlook found in the work, can, in no way be underestimated. In fact, it serves a very specific editorial purpose and it is laid down by one of the probable three editors intentionally

(ii) *Necessity of Karma*

The writer has accepted that 'mere slavery to action and desires is not worth glorification.'[9] He has yet stressed that a state of desirelessness is not possible on earth. Even the Vedas, that are the final word of authority for Manu, originate from desire and so do the Yajñas that are held as extremely sacred by him. Man, as a member of the society as also as an individual is full of desire. The progress of the world originates from this and Manu wants to suggest that he is here, guiding on the right lines, this mental attitude of man in such a way that it will yield maximum of an advantage both to the individual as also the society. Even this has quite a specific purpose to serve in the large discussion of eternal Ācāra that just follows. This discussion very naturally follows the philosophical topics with which the work commences.

(iii) *Repetitions of Ideas*

Ideas on several of the topics are repeated, often with added and even varying views, or with added conservatism. To illustrate, (a) the rights and duties of the Śūdras, the position of woman, the rights and duties of the Brāhmaṇas, social ethics, conception of Dharma etc. are some of the topics that are spread throughout the work, the views on these are repeated, and, even new ideas are added to bring in more of conservatism. Sometimes, mostly in the earlier Adhyāyas, the ideas are liberal and tolerant of some freedom while in

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9. कामात्मता न प्रशस्ता न चैवेहास्त्यकामता । *Manu*, II. 2.

the later Adhyāyas, the ideas become puritanic. This will go to show that the whole treatment in the work has got the hand of more than one editors and the editors are not equally liberal or equally conservative.

(iv) *Incomplete Treatment*

The right of Saṁskāras for women, Widow-marriage, remarriage for women, the qualifications of man in marriage, slavery, the relation of husband and wife etc. are some of the most important topics on which the treatment at their proper places is incomplete. It is interesting to note that we come across so many verses ascribed to Manu in other Smṛti works but not found in the present work. There are also some verses that are not to be found in all of the manuscripts and are therefore considered to be interpolations.[10] It is interesting to find that at least some of these verses fit in exactly at several places in the work and the incomplete treatment becomes complete. The verses that are taken as interpolations, actually reveal some very fine, often liberal ideas, that are deleted from the work only by a very conservative editor it seems.[11] A detailed study of this will reveal many such cases of omissions by some later editors from the original rather than that these are later interpolations. It seems that some later editor has, carefully and quite systematically ommitted several of the verses from the work to satisfy his own conservatism.

(v) *Contradictory Views on Several Topics*

When Manu discusses the problem of marriage, he shows very great spirit of tolerance and liberalism towards woman,[12]

10. To illustrate only a few verses below ix. 127, ix. 186, ix. 233, xi. 10, xi. 33, xi. 34, xi. 40, xi. 51, xi. 138, xi. 199, xii. 7, xii. 9, xii. 89, xii. 101, xii. 110, xii. 125, xii. 126, etc.

11. Particularly in the sections on the right of woman to Saṁskāras, Widow-marriage etc.

12. Vide verses III. 51 to 62.

whom he accepts as dependent on man. The ninth Adhyāya, dealing with the question of relation of husband and wife[13] gives quite the contrary views. We come across several verses in the work in which Manu is less harsh towards the Śūdra, while in several others, he is very much harsh. Manu has revolted against *Niyoga* and at the same time permitted it.[14] He praises widowhood[15] and at the same time permits the marriage of widows as a measure of crisis.[16] He even indirectly permits divorce though he states specifically that at least for woman, the bond of marriage is that of life-time, and wife should be faithful to the bed of the husband even after he is dead.[17] He has accepted eight forms of marriage[18] even though in the last three at least, there is no ceremony of marriage. He allows several professions to the Śūdras and again states that God has ordained only one duty to the Śūdras and that is service of the Dvijas, preferably the Brāhmaṇas.[18] There are several other topics in which we find contradictory views expressed in the same Adhyāyas or in the first six and in the last six. This also would go to prove that there are more than one editor of the work, and that they are separated by time by at least 100 years and that their outlook on life was fundamentally different.

(vi) *Remarkable Difference in Outlook*

One thing strikes us immediately. It seems that there is much remarkable difference in outlook between the authors of the second to the sixth adhyāyas and the seventh

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13. Vide verses ix. 1 to 42.
14. In the eighth and the ninth Adhyāyas.
15. As above.
16. As above, for which see Thesis.
17. ix. 28, 29.
18. i. 91.

to the twelfth adhyāyas. The first author seems to be liberal and tolerant in outlook, while the latter is narrow and conservative. The former allows even options in sevral rules and thus grants variance in the capacities of man and his varied circumstances, while the latter is strict and intolerant and permits no options, he insists on absolute rules. The first is an idealist scientist and therefore lays down the social rules with a sense of development and evolution, while the latter is extremely practical and a cool scientist, and therefore lays down the rules with the coolness of a tried scientist. The former seems to refer to an age of transition from the period of comparative liberalism to that of extreme conservatism, while the latter seems to belong to an age of extreme conservatism, nay puritanism. The repetitions, contradictions etc., are found mainly between these two in the two parts of the work.

Thus there are very clearly three authors of the work, there are three editors:

(i) The writer of the adhyāyas 2nd to the 6th.
(ii) The writer of the adhyāyas 7th to the 12th.
(iii) The writer of the first adhyāya and a part of the 12th.

It would not be a surprise that the second should make a few changes, additions and substractions from the first and the third must of necessity make a few changes in the writing of the first two editors. Thus there are at least three very important editors and authors of the work. The first gave a part of the treatment, the second a scientific touch to the whole and the rest of the treatment, and the third edited the whole into a systematic work, and also added the philsophical sections. It is natural therefore that the latter two must dabble in the work of each predecessor with his own outlook and make a few changes.

The work tells us that Manu learnt these laws from God, and after narrating the philosophical sections, entrusted Bhṛgu with the task of the narration of the whole work.[19] Thus, there are clearly three persons traditionally accepted as the authors of the work. Against this traditional view, we are in a position to prove that there are quite rationally and factually speaking, three main editors of the work. There might again have been some minor dabbling with the work.

One more fact should also be noted. Manu's famous work is glorified more than all other Smṛti works. We are told that 'यद्वै किञ्च मनुरब्रवीत्तद्भैषजम्'. Yājñavalkya,[20] Nārada and all others look upon Manu as a revered ancient authority. There are commentators with varying views, like Vijñāneśvara and Jīmūtavāhana both of whom quote Manu time and again to justify their mutually differing views. The reason is not far to seek. While in all probability, the later Smṛti works were written with the basis of the sociological and legal trends of one particular part of the country, the *Manusmṛti* seems to try to keep the whole of the Aryan India of those days in view and claims to lay down rules for the whole of the country. It is natural therefore that just in order to justify some varying customs and rules in different parts of the country, varying rules might have been accepted, and Manu or Manus might have also added these varying rules with the same ideal of applicablity to the whole country.

It needs hardly to be mentioned that these are very interesting facts to be noted about the editing of the work.

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19. i. 58, 59, 60.
20. Vide footnote no. 2 above.

[illegible] Against this traditional view, [illegible] there are quite rationally [illegible] of the work. [illegible] work.

[illegible] should also be noted. Manu's famous work [illegible] all other Smṛti works. He [illegible] Yājñavalkya [illegible] There are commentators [illegible] like Medhātithi and Govindarāja both of whom quote Manu [illegible] mutually differing views [illegible] While in all probability, the [illegible] the basis of the socio- [illegible] particular part of the country [illegible] It is natural therefore that part [illegible] different parts of the country [illegible] have been accepted and [illegible] applicability to the whole country.

[illegible] be mentioned that there are very interesting facts to be noted about the editing of the work.

29. [illegible]
30. Vide [illegible] above.

RHETORICAL EMBELLISHMENTS IN THE *HARAVIJAYA*

By DR. SANTOSH KUMARI SHARMA*

The epic *Haravijaya* is a product of that period when learned people were trying their best to exhibit their knowledge by writing highly pedantic poetry. Their main aim was to please their patrons and to impress the audience as much as possible. The figures of speech were an easy medium to serve this purpose. In regard to the use of the figures of speech, the *Haravijaya* is not in keeping with the views of the rhetoricians, who preceded its composition.[1] Alaṅkāra is an external embellishment for poetry, and as such is not indispensable or an intrinsic requirement for it. The most important thing is sentiment, to which the figures of speech are merely subservient.[2] This has been the view of the classical masters like Daṇḍin,[3] Viśvanātha and Mammaṭa. In the later poets (post-Kālidāsan) like Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa, Bhāravi, and Māgha and others, the figures of speech often get the upper hand as compared to the sentiment. Keeping the tradition of its age in mind, the *Haravijaya* deserves appreciation. It appears to be more artificial by its excessively ornate poetry.

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1. *Agni P.* Vol. III, p. 199 (Mitra): *"Kāvyam sphuṭad alaṅkāram"* & *Kāvya P.* I. 4: *"Alaṅkṛtiḥ punaḥ kvā'pi."*

2. Ānandavardhana, P. 87 (Rāghvan; *Some Concepts of Alaṁkāra*): *"tatprakāśino vācyaviśeṣo eva rūpakādayo'laṁkārāḥ."*

See also H. D. Velamkara *"Introduction to Raghuvaṁśa"*: "........Figure of speech lends charm to Rasa when Rasa is principal (*aṅgī*) thing and figure of speech is predominated to it......"

3. *Kavyādarśa,* II. 1: *"kāvya śobhākarān dharmān alaṅkārān pracakṣāṭe"* and see also Vāmana, *Kāvyālaṅkāra,* I. 3.

The Figures of Sense (*Arthālaṅkāras*)

Besides the Śabdālaṅkāra, involving play upon words, the *Haravijaya* holds a large number of the Arthālaṅkāras, too, in order to present the matter in a more attractive form than was possible otherwise. Following are some illustrations extracted from the poem, which will testify the successful employment of the figures of sense in the *Haravijaya*.

Simile (*Upamā*)

Of all the Arthālaṅkāras, employed in the poem, simile is of the greatest importance. All the other poets have made use of similes, and some of them have been, undoubtedly, successful in bringing out new suggestions and beautiful ones, too, but the unparalleled champion in this field has been Kālidāsa, in whose case they are the forte. In the *Haravijaya*, there is a frequent use of similes. A few examples will suffice to give an idea of their skilful employment by the poet.

As an example, we may see the following, in which the black bees are compared to the fragments of darkness:

"Śiśriṣubhis tanuvikāsadalatpalāśa
koṣāḥ śanaiḥ kumudinīr nabhasi bhramadbhiḥ,
Candrāṁśujarjaritaśeṣaghanānubandha
naiśāndhakārasadṛśair atami dvirephaiḥ."

(H.V. XX. 37)

(With a view to clinging to the lily with its petals, the bees, flying in the sky and seeming as the darkness of the night, unsmitten by the beams of the moon, were teased).

In this illustration, the comparison of the particles of darkness with the dark coloured black bees, is very appropriate and suggestive.

Here is one more example, in which Lord Śiva, with

the snakes tied and with the ashes smeared on His body, looks like the Ocean of Milk:

Bhasmāṅgarāgadhavalaṃ parapuṣṭapiccha-
cchāyāṅgadoragaphaṇākulitāṁsakūṭam,
aurvāgnidhūmamalinīkṛtavīcibhaṅga-
dugdhormimālisadṛśīm śriyam āśrayantam.

(H.V. II. 11)

(They saw Śiva, white with the ashes smeared, with his shoulders having the snake-hoods, which were as black as the feathers of cuckoo and were used as armlets, getting the glamour of the Ocean of Milk, with its waves defiled (clouded) by the smoke of submarine fire).

In this extract, the charm of the simile may be observed in the comparison of white and black splendoured Śiva's body with the ocean of milk darkened by the smoke of submarine fire.

Among the various varieties of the similes found in the *Haravijaya,* the following is an instance of the mythological simile (*Paurāṇic Upamā*), in which the myth (*Paurāṇic Prasaṅga*), containing the story of the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu, who was killed by Lord Nṛsiṁha with nails, is referred to:—

"Yasyām niśāsu gaganaṃ navapadmarāga—
sadmaprabhāruṇitamadhyagatendulekham,
vakṣo Nṛsiṁhanakhair asurādhipasya
sāsṛkcchaṭam viṣam abhinnam ivā' cakāsti."

(H.V.I.5)

(In which the sky, having in its middle the moon—reddened by the radiance of the buildings made of the padmarāgas, looked like the bleeding chest of the Lord of demons, i.e., Hiraṇyakaśipu, which was torn with the nails of Nṛsiṁha).

Here, the sky having the reddish moon in the middle is compared to the bleeding chest of Hiraṇyakaśipu.

In the comparison of the lily (Nalinī) with Varuṇa, the presiding deity of the seas, we meet with a beautiful simile full of *religious allusions*:—

"sarasamantharatāmarasādarabharasajjalayā nalinī madhu,
jaladhidevatayā sadṛśīṃ śriyaṃ sphuṭatarāgatarāgarucir dadhau."

(H.V. III. 15)

(In the spring, the lily (Nalinī), along with the sound of enjoying the lotus honeyed and bent, got the fullfledged reddish luster like that of the God of the Ocean (Varuṇa), who had the waters noisy with the disturbance caused by gods busy in the churning of the waters attentively).

The *Ritualistic similes* are also used in the *Haravijaya*. Here is an example, in which the forehead of Lord Śiva, covered with the matted hair, is compared to an altar (Yajña-vedī):—

"ambhodharaśyāmalam ardhabhāganiṣaṇṇanārāyaṇavakra-bimbam,—
lalāṭavedīśikhisāndradhūmacchāyāprāmṛṣṭa ivaiti lakṣmīm."

(H.V. IX. 19)

(Śiva, who was overspread with the dark smoke of the fire (of His third eye) placed in the altar of His forehead, attained beauty, as though half-lying Nārāyaṇa's face, which was as black as the cloud, secured Lakṣmī).

The *Haravijaya* contains such similes, too, as may be called the *Literary similes*, as in the following verse, a lady is compared to a Nāṭikā:—

"śṛṅgārasthitiramaṇīyanarmagarbhavyāpārātanurasanāyakā-nuyātā,

raṁbhorur atha caturaṅkalāṁcchitaśrīḥ praty-agrām
atanuta Nāṭike 'va śobhām."
(H.V. XVII. 29)

(Then the beautiful lady, pursued by her amorous, jovial and much-passionate consort, and with her beauty enhanced by the four arts (dance, music etc.), attained glamour like a Nāṭikā, which has love as its main sentiment, which bears the delighting amorous sports (Narma-garbha), which contains the exuberant sentiments (humour etc.), which has its hero firm and brave, but reckless and sportive (Dhīralalita), and which is beautified by the four acts (Aṅkas)).

In the *Haravijaya* we have some similes which are very appropriate and befitting to the occasion, as in the following verse the restrained and collyrium-mixed tears of a lady, who is parting from her husband, are compared to the black bees coming out of the blue lotuses, in which they have been imprisoned so far:

"saṁstaṁbhitā' pi tu maṅalabhaṅgabhīror
bhiror viṣādavaśaśūnyadhiyās tadākṣṇaḥ,
nirdhautakajjalavidhūsaritā nirīyur-
indīvarān madhukarā iva bāṣpaleśāḥ."
(H.V. XL. 58)

(Then, from her eyes, afraid of the violation of auspiciousness and unconscious owing to sorrow, there came out the tears checked and mixed with the collyrium washed, as if the bees restrained came out of the blue lotuses).

But on the contrary, we come across such similes, too, as can never receive any appreciation from any reader. They produce the undesired effect. Truly speaking, they spoil the charm, which the poet seeks to create. For such a simile, we may see the following verse:—

F. 7

"yasyām niśāsu gaganaṃ navapadmarāga
sadmaprabhāruṇita madhyagate 'ndulekham,
vakṣonṛsiṁhanakhair asurādhipasya
sāsṛkcchaṭaṃ viṣam abhinnaṃ ivācakāsati."

(H.V. I. 5)

(In which the sky, having in its middle the moon-reddened by the radiance of the buildings made of the Padmarāgas, looked like the bleeding chest of the lord of demons, i.e., Hiraṇyakaśipu, which was torn with the nails of Nṛsiṁha).

In this simile, the sky having the reddish moon in the middle is compared to the bleeding chest of the lord of demons. No reader can appreciate this imagination: the poet wants to sketch the beauty which the sky gains at night, when the moon becomes reddish owing to the radiance of the buildings of Jyotsnāvatī, which are made of the Padmarāga gems, and for this, he should have sought some other good simile, which would lend charm to this sense. It is absurd to compare the moon, however reddish it may be, to the bleeding wound. The poet seeks to present a beautiful scene and presents a disgusting one instead. Such similes according to Daṇḍin,[4] are never pleasing and proper.

***Metaphor* (*Rūpaka*)**

Next to simile (Upamā), the most important rhetorical figure, found with frequency in the *Haravijaya*, is *metaphor* (*Rūpaka*). When the excited "heart of the emotional poet finds itself unable to express its high poetic imaginations with the help of simile (Upamā), it flies to metaphor, in order to describe many thoughts in a few words."[5] On ac-

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4. *Kāvyādarśa*, II. 51. "*upamādūṣaṇāyālaṁ yatrodvego na dhīmatām.*"

5. V. Raghvan: ***Some Concepts of Alaṁkāraśāstra***, p. 73.

count of the existence of common qualities, the identity of the subject of comparison (Upameya) with the standard of comparison (Upamāna) is established. In this figure, attempts are made to imply as much similarity as possible, with the object described.

In the *Haravijaya,* it occurs in expressions like—*'Nakhadarpaṇa'* (H.V. I. 2), *'Vadanendu'* (H.V. I. 6), *'Andhakārahasta'* (H.V. I. 17), *'Bhruśarāsana'* (H.V. I. 20), *'Kaṭākṣabāṇa'* (H.V. I. 20), *'Vadanāravinda'* (H.V. I. 42), *'Roṣavahni'* (H.V. I. 51), *'Indumukuṭa'* (H.V. IV. 27), *'Dinadruma'* (H.V. IV. 27), *'Divasāravinda'* (H.V. XIX. 1) and *'Andhakāramadhupāvalī'* (H.V. XIX. 1).

So far as the appropriateness of the metaphor in the *Haravijaya* is concerned, it is mostly in coherence with the main sentiment and with the mode of description. For instance, the word 'Kisalayādhara' may be seen: in this word the employment of metaphor brings the poetic excellence in the expression of imagination, as, here, it indicates that the lip of the lady is not only similar to the sprout in its tenderness and redness, but it is in all respects a sprout. The implication of duality, which is brought out by the words like *'iva'* etc. in simile, is absolutely removed here, and an identification between the two (upamāna and upameya) is expressed. In this verse, the employment of simile will fail to bring an identity between the lip and the sprout so emphatically as that of metaphor does.

In the description of the setting sun, a beautiful metaphor is used, in which the black bee (bhramara) is identified with the pieces of darkness, and the day with the lotus:—

spaṣṭocchvasatkiraṇakesarasūryabimba—
vistīrṇakarṇikam atho divasāravindam,

śliṣṭāṣṭadigdalakalāpam uṣāvatāra—
baddhāndhakāramadhupāvalī sañcukoca.
(H.V. XIX. 1)

(Then, the lotus in the form of the day closed the broad pericarp (karṇikā) of which was the orb of the sun, and the filaments of which were the distinctly shining rays, and which possessed a row of bees in the form of darkness formed at the advent of the evening (mukham), and the petals of which were the eight quarters which were mingled together).

On some occasions, Ratnākara, like Kālidāsa, uses metaphor in order to attribute the human activities to nature. One of such specimens is given below:—

taralapallavatāmrakarā babhau samadhu ullasita bhramarot-
palam,
kusumakośam ivā'rpayituṃ latā vivalitā balitāpahṛṭas taroḥ.
(H.V.III. 18)

(The creeper of the tree, which was cooling to the severe heat, which had the copper-coloured leaves in the form of hands and flowers—which were full of honey, and on which bees were hovering—in the form of a cup of wine, bent forward to offer it to (its consort) tree, as thoubh the creeper-like Revatī, whose hands were reddish as the tremulous fresh leaves, bent forward, while she desired to offer the flower-like cup, which was full of wine and which pleased her wanton and passionate consort Balarāma).

Here, the húman activities are attributed to the objects of nature.

By describing the passion for love and erotic activities in the objects of nature, with the help of metaphor, the poet deepens the effect of the situation.

Poetic Fancy (*Utprekṣā*)

Besides Metaphor (*Rūpaka*), Poetic Fancy (*Utprekṣā*) is one of the favourite rhetorical devices of the Sanskrit poets. In the *Haravijaya*, this figure is employed times without number. By means of poetic fancy (Utprekśā), the novel and far-fetched poetic imagination has gained exquisite charm. It heightens the sentiment and presents the subject-matter in a more attractive form. Some illustrations with examples cited below will suffice to indicate its importance as well as its appropriateness in the poem:

In the following is described the reward which a benevolent person deserves:

vyaktopakāram adhunā sthagitāsu dikṣu
preyogṛham sukham alakṣitam eva yāmaḥ,
dhammillabandharucirair abhisārikābhiḥ
premṇā tamas ciram itī'va śirobhir ūḍhe.
(H.V. XIX. 43)

(The women, going to meet their lovers, as if bore darkness, which was benevolent to them, on their heads delightfully in the form of their beautiful braided hair, for they thought that they might approach the invisible residences of their lovers easily, (all) the directions being calm and quiet).

The pathetic Utprekṣās are also found in the *Haravijaya*, as in the description of the elevating ocean, there is an imagination in the presentation of a life-like pathetic scene of its suffering, which, as if being unable to bear the pain caused because of being robbed of its riches, throws itself in the fire of an endless discontentment:—

Lakṣmīsurāvimalakaustubhapārijāta
candrāmṛtāpaharaṇotthitayā śuce'va,
hemādrikūṭavikaṭārciṣi nirvyapekṣam
ātmānam aurvadahane vinipātayantam.
(H.V. XXX. 44)

(He beheld the ocean of milk, throwing itself indifferently in the submarine fire, which had Hemādrikūṭa moun tain as its terrible flames, because of its sorrow caused after being robbed of (products) Lakṣmī, wine, undefiled Kaustubha gem, pārijāta (the celestial tree), moon, and nectar (ambrosia)).

On some occasions, the sensitive poet appears to be so emotional and imaginative that he does not intend to display erudition and play upon words; and, then, whatever he writes or expresses happens to be more natural, more attractive and more rhythmical. In such stanzas, the employment of poetic fancy (Utprekṣā) is more charming and more beautiful. In the example illustrated below, the red line caused by betal appears to be dividing line, as it were, drawn between Śiva and Pārvatī:

prasaktatāṁbūlakalaṅkadhūsaram
śriyam dadhatyādharamadhyalekhayā,
sphuṭe 'va mūrtidvitayasya peśalā
vibhāgasīmā saralā viracyate.

(H.V. XIX. 43)

(Then, by the splendour of the middle lip, Śiva possessed the lustre of being tinged with the tint of the betal, and, thus, there became a clear-cut division between the two forms, (one of Śiva and the other of Pārvatī), distinct and charming).

This figure is used very successfully in the descriptions of the love in meeting and the love in separation. In the following stanza, which depicts the love in separation, a beautiful Utprekṣā is used, in which the shivering lips of the separated lady appear as if frightened by the fear of being burnt by the tears which are terribly hot:

atyuṣṇabāṣpāṁbukaṇapratānavidāhabhītye 'va
vikaṁpamānam,

bimbādharaṃ niḥśvasitānubandhanitāntapāriplavam
udvahantīm.
(H.V. XXV. 50)

(He saw her, with her Bimba-like lips, as if trembling out of fear of being burnt by the shedding tears which were terribly hot, and (who was) shivering excessively owing to incessant sighing).

The lotus (Aṁbhojinī), closed at night. seems as if with its closed eyes it were trying to have a glance of the image of its consort, which it has painted on its heart:

preyāṁsam arkam iva dṛṣṭipathavyatītam
antaravikalparacitākṛtim īhamānāḥ.
premṇā vilokayitum askhalitena cakrur
aṁbhojanetra vinimīlanam aṁbhujinyaḥ.
(H.V. XIX. 29)

(The lotuses, with their unflickering love, closed their lotus-like eyes with a desire to see their lover, i.e., the sun, who had gone beyond the reach of vision, and (therefore) whose form was made (by them) within their hearts).

The sun, like a cruel person, without caring for *nalinī's* repeated requests to stay, goes away; *nalinī* is murmuring, as it were, by means of the humming of the black-bees:

ābaddhapadmamukulāñjaliyācito mām
utsṛjya saṁprati gataḥ katham aṁśumālī,
antarniruddhamadhupakvaṇitair itī'va
svapnāyate sma nalinī niśilabdhanidrā.
(H.V. XIX. 45)

(The lily, gone asleep at night, was murmuring so in the dream by the humming of the bees, imprisoned within, that despite being requested (to stay by her) with her folded

hands of the closed lotus-buds, why the sun had gone leaving her alone).

Here is a beautiful erotic Utprekṣā, in which the poet has given a very remarkable and interesting cause for the slimness of the heroine's waist:—

kāñcīguṇair viracitā jaghaneṣu lakṣmī
labdha sthitiḥ stanataṭeṣu ca ratnahāraiḥ,
no bhūṣitā vayam itī'va nitaṁbinīnām
kārśyam nirargalam adhāryata madhyabhāgaiḥ.

(H.V. XXIII. 8)

(The hips of ladies are beautiful with the girdled strings and the breasts are decorated with the necklaces of pearls, 'only we are not decorated': thinking so, the waists of ladies have become very slim).

In a verse, which presents the description of the evening before us, a beautiful Utprekṣā is employed:—

tāvan nirargalam udaid amalātmamūrti—
kalmāṣitāṁbaratalam grahacakravālam,
sūryendumaṇḍalasamudgakavāṭakoṣam
viśleṣakīrṇanavaratnakaṇānukārī

(H.V. XIX. 54)

(Then, there shined the constellations unimpededly, which were unspotted, but made the sky variegated, which resembled the new gems scattered out of the casket of the moon, when the covering of the sun was removed).

In the verse quoted above, the similarity of the stars to the jewels is suggested, because they are both endowed with the virtue of shining. Sometimes the Utprekṣā implies the

6. *Kāvya P.* X. 92. "Poetic Fancy is the expression (by implication) of the probability of the identity of the object described with a similar object."

transference of the human activities to the phenomena of nature. In the following example, the moon, who is very conscious of her charming beauty, finding even her spotless streak disgraced by Pārvatī's beauty, is prepared as if to jump down, but Śiva, knowing her intention, tied her in His matted hair:—

"yasyādrirājatanayā vadanārvinda—
lāvaṇyakāntivijitasya salīlam indoḥ,
bandīkṛto'rbhaka iva ślathajūṭakoṭi—
bandhacyutaś ciram abhāri kareṇa khaṇḍaḥ."
(H.V. I. 42)

(For a moment, the rescent (phase of the moon), defeated by the lustre of the beauty of the daughter of Himālaya (Pārvatī) was held up as a child playfully with His hand, while she fell from the loose lock of (His) hair).

In the *Haravijaya*, there are such Utprekṣās too, as indicate the similarity of the activities and the ideas between human beings and the objects of nature, as we may see in the following verse, where the lotus has stuck behind the girl's ear, finding itself lesser in lustre than her:—

"na śreyān samam adhikaśriyā virodho yuktā'traitī'va pīvarorvāḥ,
uttaṁsotpalam avanamya dūram akṣṇaḥ prastāvit stavam iva cañcarīkaśabdaiḥ."
(H.V. XVII. 64)

(Thinking it better to bend down than to quarrel with one of greater lustre, the lotus stuck behind the girl's ear, bowed low and began to praise her eye by the humming of the black—bees[7]).

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7. *W. Z. K. M.*: Jacobi 1890, p. 239 f.

Paronomasia (Śleṣa)

Paronomasia is another figure, which is often employed by the poet in his works. In the *Vakroktipañcāśikā,* his passion makes him introduce it in every verse. Similarly in the *Haravijaya,* too, it is used almost in every stanza. The pedantic tendency of Subandhu of using pun on every syllable[8] found favour with the author of the *Haravijaya,* too. He, like Subandhu, declares that his 'sālaṅkārakāvya' is embellished with obscure and complicated puns—'*vikaṭa-śleṣa*'.[9] The use of paronomasia affords an ample scope for the display of erudition and the play on words. It is seldom if ever, bereft of the intention to exhibit one's command on language.

The very first stanza of the poem *Haravijaya* begins with pun (śleṣa), which has two meanings, quite different from each other:—

"kaṇṭhaśriyaṃ kuvalayastabakābhirāma—
dāmānukārivikaṭacchavikālakūṭām,
bibhrat sukhāni diśatād upahārapīta—
dhūpotthadhūmamalinām iva dhūrjaṭir vaḥ."

(H.V. I. 1)

Two interpretation are possible:

(1) May Dhurjaṭī, bearing the lustre of His throat with the excessive charming poison seeming like a beautiful wreath, made of the blue lotuses, as if it were darkened with the smoke of the incense, inhaled at the time of worship, confer good fortunes on you.

Or, (2) May Dhurjaṭī, the fulfiller of the desires of His devotees on the earth, having the lustre of His throat, which burnt Cupid and terrible Kāla, and which was defiled by the

8. *Vāsavadattā* (Subandhu): Verse xiii (*Gray,* P. 146): "*pratyakṣaraśleṣa*".

9. H. V. Eulogy (Praśasti) —2.

smoke of yellowish flames (caused by the hissing of the snakes), make your senses good (capable).

Poet's excellent use of this figure may be observed in those verses where he employs such words as give more than two meanings. The *Haravijaya* is very rich in this respect. Let us take, for instance, the following verse, which has three meanings simultaneously:—

"kṛtakāmo'tha gobhartā savyūḍhakamalāsanaḥ,
bhūtidhāma param bheje Śaṁbhur ivā'paraḥ."
(H.V. LIII. 292)

(Then, the killer of Cupid, Lord of bull, performer of the sacrifice, bearer of the moon—the resort of the deer, became very glamorous with ashes, as if he were another Śaṁbhu, Viṣṇu or Brahmā, where the former is the assumer of the artificial forms, bearer of the universe, supporter of Brahmā, shelter for the defence of the world, and the latter is transcendent, sustainer of the speech (vāc) and seated on the lotus, supported by the swans).

One more example is being given here, in which the words contain four meanings, and this can assure us of the poet's successful handling even of the most difficult puns:—

"sasatvaśālī samadatvam āpto nibaddhamūlaḥ
sthirabhūticarcaḥ,
utsedhavān askhalitaḥ śucitvāt sannāgarājaśriyam
āpa gurvīm."
(H.V. XLVIII. 124)

(By dint of His brightness, the powerful, furious, checker of the beginning of the battle, smeared with ashes, tall and steadfast, Lord Śiva attained the great glamour of the elephant par excellence which was strong, ruttish, tied with roots, smeared with dust, wearing saddle and steady; of the

snake which was strong, irritated, with tail tied, clothed with dust, rising high and unwavering; of the Aśoka tree, which firm, passionate, deep-rooted, famous for its (distinct) qualities, high, and untrembling; and of the mountain which was full of beasts, which was proud (unsurpassed-, firmly rooted, rich in wealth (minerals), high and unshaky one).

Besides the most intricate puns, some simple puns are also employed in the poem, as in the following verse, though there is pun on every word, yet we follow it easily:—

"druhiṇasya kāvyam iva sargagocaram
sphuṭacittravṛttikam avadbhir adbhutam,
viśadaṃ bhavadbhir abhitanyatetarām
abhitaḥ purāṇakavinā kṛtaṃ yaśaḥ."

(H.V. VI. 8)

(As Prajāpati spread His fame everywhere, creating the world, full of things created, with the distinct forms and dispositions clear, surprising and vast, like the first poet—Valmīki—who composed his kāvya, which is full of chapters—(sargas), contains pictorial figures of speech (Citrālaṅkāras) and modes (Vṛttis), and is comprehensible, you too, spread your fame all round).

Where the poet has used such simple puns, the language is not so difficult, and the ideas are not so obscure to understand as those, where the intricate puns are employed.

Where, with the object of showing the existence of some superiority between the Upamāna and the Upameya, there is the description of a quality or action antagonistic to another quality or action, then the figure is known as *Virodha*.[10] *Oxymorons* (*Virodhābhāsa*)

10. *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, III. 25, guṇasya vā kriyāyā vā viruddhā-'nyā kriyābhidhā, yā viśeṣābhidhānāya virodhaṃ taṃ vidur budhāḥ.

In the *Haravijaya,* there are verses, which describe one thing or person as possessed of contradictory qualities. In the following verse, Lord Śiva is described as dual and non-dual:—

"na gatis tavā'sti suranātha nā'gatir na bahir na
cāntara avabhāsase kvacit,
dvyāvabhāsaśūnyatāthatavalaṁbanaḥ pratibhāsi nā
'nugṛhītacetasām."
(H.V. VI. 52)

(Lord Śiva, You, without any dualism (being the Supreme God), do not have your resort, nor You are resortless, You appear neither outward nor inward anywhere, yet You appear to those who have their hearts favoured (by You)).

Special Excellence (*Vyatireka*)

By using this rhetorical figure, the superiority of the Upameya to the Upamā is stated. Below is given an example, in which the inferiority of the Upamāna (here the moon) is indicated:—

"Śailātmajā vadanacandramasaḥ kathaṃ nu
lekhā'pi me na sadṛśī śaśinā saśokam,
ūrdhvekṣaṇotthaśikhinī'va nipitsune'ttham
adhyāsitonnatalalāṭataṭopakaṇṭham."
(H.V. II. 6)

(They saw Lord Śiva, on whose broad forehead rested the moon, as if intended, in dejection, to jump down in the fire, coming out of the upper eye (third eye), for even a streak (which is always unstained) of her could not stand in comparison with the face-moon of Pārvatī, the daughter of Himālaya).

Converse (*Pratīpa*)

The verse, quoted above as an example of Vyatireka (H.V. II. 6), may be taken as an example of the figure 'Pra-

tīpa' too. In it, the Vyatireka is suggested, while the Pratīpa is indicated, as it describes the Upamāna in the disgraced form.[11]

Illustration (*Nidarśanā*)

In this figure, the poet tries to imagine similarity between two different objects, which are not similar to each other.[12] In the *Haravijaya,* this figure is employed successfully. As an instance, the following verse may be cited:—

"utprekṣya nūnam abhaye'pi bhayaṃ nisarga—
bhīrur nitāntam upagacchati viklavatvam,
pañcatvam eti nitarāṃ sucikitsito'pi
śaṅkāviṣavyatikareṇa vimūrchitaḥ san."
(H.V. XIII. 29)

(One, who is timid by nature, gets down into such perplexion, indeed, perceiving fear in a thing without fear; as even a person medically well-treated dies, when swooned by the effect of the poison of suspicion).

Natural Description (*Svabhāvokti*)

By this figure of literary adornment, the poet describes the activities of any object in its natural and true form. In the following illustrations, the physical movements of horses and of swans are so described:—

"rathapratiṣṭhoṣṇamarīcitāpapariplutā vedamayās turaṅgāḥ,
muhur valadgrīvavivṛttalolapārśvakramāt kūbariṇam vahanti."
(H.V. IX. 53)

11. *Kāvya P.* X. 113.
12. *Ibid.,* X. 97 and Vāmana: *Kāvyālaṅkāra,* VI. 25.

(The cautious steeds, restless owing to the heat of the sun riding on the cariot, and turning their necks behind, and spreading out their active sides, are carrying the charriot).

See also one more example:

"ākrīḍatāmarasinī jalayantramañju—
nādaḥ kramānugatakaiśikamadhyamaśrīḥ,
utbandharastimitapāpavidhūtapakṣam—
ākarṇyate bhavanahaṁsagaṇena yasyām."
(H.V.I. 28)

(In which the charming sound of the lotus-shaped clepsydras, made in the gardens and beautified by creating regularly the Kaiśikamadhyama tune, was heard by the flocks of the swans of the houses, with their necks uplifted, with their feet unwavering, and with their wings fluttering).

Concealment (*Apahnuti*)

The Concealment of one thing by another similar thing is called Apahnuti.[13] In the verses quoted below, the poison of Śiva's neck is concealed by the reflection of the moon's spot and by the smoke:—

"jyotsnārucāṁbaram alaṃ vimalaṃ diśantam
induṃ nidhāya mukuṭe dayitāyamānam,
tallāñchanacchavim ivā'tanukālakūṭa—
cchāyāchalena dadhataṃ pṛthukaṇṭhalagnaṁ."
(H.V. II. 8)

(They saw Śiva, who, wearing in His forehead the moon charming while making the sky unvariegated and making His garment shine, bore, as it were, the beauty of her spot resting on His throat under the pretext of the beauty of the poison extended).

13. *Kāvya* P. X. 96.

The following is another example of the beautiful use of Concealment:

"bhītaiḥ puraḥ kusumamārgaṇadehadāha—
saṁraṁbhaghoravkṛtir dadarśe surair yaḥ,

kaṇṭhodarāspadam an'argalahuṅkṛtāgni—
dhūmacchalena vikarann iva kālakūṭam."

(H.V. I. 53)

(The horrified gods of the city witnessed a great chaos, caused owing to the burning of the body of Cupid, as if they witnessed the poison (Kālakūṭa), which had its seat in the interior of the throat (of Śiva), and which was spreading under the pretext of the fire, caused by the perpetual roars).

Delusion (*Bhrāntimāna*)

Where, wrongly, one thing is taken for another because of similarity, it is delusion there.[14] The following is a fine example, where the peacock misunderstands the movements of Śiva's hands for the clouds, floating in the sky:

"bhasmāṅgarāgadhavaleṣu bhujeṣu tasya
kalmāṣayatsu gaganaṁ karavartanābhiḥ,

śubhrābhrarājicakitāḥ paripuñjyamāna—
picchāvacūlavapuṣaḥ śikhino vidadruḥ."

(H.V. II. 25)

(While His (Śiva's) arms, white with the ashes smeared, made the sky speckled by the movements of the hands, the peacocks ran away with their bodies covered with the feathers upraised, being taken aback on mistaking it (the sky bespotted) for a chain of the bright clouds).

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14. Vāmana, *Kāvyālaṅkāra,* IV. 5.

Corroboration (*Arthāntaranyāsa*)

Where the poet corroborates some statement by another fact, there we get the corroboration,[15] as we see in the following verse:

"utprekṣya nūnam abhaye' pi bhayaṃ nisarga—
bhīrur nitāntam upagacchati viklavatvam,
pañcatvam eti nitarāṃ sucikitsito'pi
śaṅkāviṣavyatikareṇa vimūrcchitaḥ san."
(H.V. XIII. 29)

(One, who is timid by nature, gets down into much perplexion, indeed, fancying fear in a thing without fear; as even a person, medically well-treated, dies, when swooned by the effect of the poison of suspicion).

Here, we have the corroboration of the statement that a person, who is timid by nature, is perplexed fancying fear in a thing without fear by the fact that even a man, medically well treated, passes away, when he is swooned by the effect of the poison of suspision.

The Figures of Sound (*Śabdālaṅkāras*)

The Śabdālaṅkāras are chiefly related to sound. These figures are inevitable for the outward beauty of a composition. When a poem is recited, it is Śabdālaṅkāras which produce a rhythmical sound and attract the audience. If the figures of sense increase the internal beauty or strengthen the soul of the Kāvya, the figures of sound provide it with an external charm. In the employment of these figures, involving play on words, the *Haravijaya* proves to be quite a successful artistic epic, in which the poet's skill deserves appreciation. Of the Śabdālaṅkāras, *Repetition* (*Yamaka*), and

15. Vāmana, IV. 21 (Tr. in *Indian Thought* II, P. 83).

Alliteration (*Anuprāsa*) are most abundantly employed. Besides these, the *Pictorial Figures* (*Citrālaṅkāras*) are made use of by Ratnākara, more often than by Bhāravi and Māgha.

Alliteration (*Anuprāsa*)

It is similarity of sound, despite a dissimilarity of the vowel. It is the most favourite figure of our poet and has been used throughout the poem. Various varieties of Alliteration are found in the *Haravijaya*:

1. *Where only one letter is alliterated*:

The first are those alliterations in which only one letter is alliterated. In such verses, the excellence and charm of alliteration reaches a high level. The tendency of composing such stanzas as contain alliterations of one letter only, appears first in Bhāravi, who writes one verse, in his *Kirātārjunīya*, with the consonant 'na' only.[16] By Māgha the consonant '*da*' is used throughout a verse.[17]

Ratnākara, too, in imitation of his predecessors Bhāravi and Māgha, has a verse, in his *Haravijaya*, in which it is only one letter, viz., '*ta*' which is alliterated. It may be observed in the following stanza:—

tattāti tatoti tatuttitoti tottaiti tāti titatoti tuttiḥ
tatotitotutta tu tattatotta tuttetta tātātitatim tu tottum

(H.V.XLVIII. 126)

2. *Where two letters are alliterated in the same order*:

The Alliterations, in which only two consonants are alliterated one after another (*Ekāntaritadvyākṣarānuprāsa*), are also found in the *Haravijaya*:

"tārottāratarī tīratarutārītiruttarā,
tīritārātirātoru taratārātiruttiraḥ."

(H.V. XLIII. 107)

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16. *Kirāta*. XV. 14: na nonanunno nunnono nānā nānānā nanu,

3. *Where two letters are alliterated*:

In the *Haravijaya*, the verses containing two letters only are abundantly found. The use of such verses is rare in the works of the pioneers of the ornate style of poetry, like Bhāravi and Māgha. On such occasions, our poet's tendency of exhibiting his erudition and an ambition to surpass all the poets of this Artistic Era, may be examined. The following is a list of the verses, in which two letters are alliterated:

S. No.	*Litters alliterated*	*Canto*	*Stanza*
1.	*ka & ra*	xliii	53
2.	*ka & ya*	xlvii	288
3.	*ka & da*	xliii	349
4.	*ka & la*	xlviii	44
5.	*ka & va*	xliii	334
6.	*ka & ra*	xlviii	19
7.	*ga & ra*	xliii	238
8.	*ja & na*	xliii	111
9.	*ja & ra*	xliii	270
10.	*ta & ja*	xlviii	107
11.	*ta & da*	xlviii	115
12.	*ta & na*	xlviii	132
13.	*ta & ma*	xlviii	136
14.	*ta & ṛa*	xlviii	140
15.	*da & la*	xliii	256
16.	*da & ra*	xliii	278
17.	*da & va*	xliii	318
18.	*da & na*	xlviii	27
19.	*dha & na*	xlviii	103
20.	*na & la*	xliii	176
21.	*na & ga*	xliii	262
22.	*na & da*	xliii	266
23.	*na & gha*	xliii	302

S. N.	*Letters alliterated*	*Canto*	*Stanza*
24.	*na & ka*	xlviii	113
25.	*na & ra*	xlviii	121
26.	*pa & da*	xliii	373
27.	*pa & la*	xliii	379
28.	*pa & ra*	xlviii	105
29.	*bha & ra*	xliii	248
30.	*bha & ya*	xliii	252
31.	*bha & va*	xliii	322
32.	*bha & na*	xlviii	60
33.	*ma & da*	xliii	196
34.	*ma & ya*	xliii	230
35.	*ma & ra*	xliii	355
	ma & ra	xlviii	35
36.	*ya & dha*	xliii	284
37.	*ya & da*	xliii	361
38.	*ya & sa*	xliii	369
39.	*ya & na*	xlviii	138
40.	*ra & na*	xliii	59
41.	*ra & la*	xliii	120
42.	*ra & dha*	xlviii	88
43.	*ra & ca*	xlviii	109
44.	*la & ta*	xliii	136
45.	*la & ya*	xliii	149
46.	*la & ma*	xlviii	111
47.	*va & ya*	xliii	182
48.	*va & dha*	xliii	234
49.	*va & la*	xliii	316
50.	*va & ta*	xlviii	130
51.	*va & ra*	xlviii	134
52.	*sa & ka*	xliii	41
53.	*sa & ra*	xliii	45

S. N.	Letters alliterated	Canto	Stanza
54.	*sa & na*	xliii	220
55.	*sa & la*	xliii	19
56.	*sa & sa*	xliii	75
57.	*sa & ya*	xliii	90
58.	*sa & ra*	xliii	214
59.	*sa & pa*	xliii	290
60.	*sa & va*	xliii	294
61.	*sa & ka*	xliii	310
62.	*sa & bha*	xliii	328
63.	*sa & ra*	xlviii	15
64.	*sa & na*	xlviii	119
65.	*sa & da*	xlviii	123
66.	*sa & ta*	xlviii	147
67.	*ha & ra*	xliii	274
68.	*ha & na*	xlviii	101

4. *Where three letters are alliterated*:

Following are the examples of those Alliterations in which only three consonants are repeatedly employed:

"savisarāsurasāravasāsave suravaro vivarāsurasasarasāsravaḥ,
sa varavīra vasāvuru vairisūra-vasare virasaṁ virarāsa saḥ.

(H.V. XLVI. 56)

In the verse illustrated above, the letters *sa, ra,* and *va* are alliterated.

5. *Where the four pādas of a verse have the alliteration of four different letters*:

The other kind of alliteration is that in which only one consonant is alliterated in one quarter (pāda) of the verse

and the other consonant in the other quarter (pāda), while in the remaining two pādas other two different consonants are alliterated. Thus, the whole stanza has the alliteration of four letters. In the following verse, we find the alliteration of four different letters, viz., *ta, na, sa* and *ra*:—

"tato'tatītitottātīnānā nānā na nūnanā,
sa susāmso 'susāsāsirirārorārirair irat."
(H.V. VLIII. 3)

6. *Where a particular letter is avoided*:

In some verses, which exemplify the employment of alliteration, Ratnākara has intentionally avoided the use of particular letters, as the verse illustrated below contains only *non-palatal* (*atālavya*) letters:—

"sphuratkuṇḍalaratnaughataḍitkiraṇakarburaḥ,
Meghanīlo'tha saṁgrāme prāvṛṭkālavad ābabhau."
(H.V. XLIII. 168)

In this stanza, the letters *ra, ka, da* and *la* are alliterated.

There is one more example, similar to the verse quoted above, in which only *non-labial* (*Niroṣṭhya*) consonants are employed:—

"nirdhautakanakacchāyāḥ sacchadā śīghragāminaḥ,
tārakṣyeṇa sadṛśās tasya sāyakā rejire raṇe."
(H.V. XLIII. 546)

In this example the use of non-labials only—*ka, cha, sa, ya* and *ra*—is alliterated.

Besides, some alliterations are very beautiful and charming. They are not intricate like those mentioned above. The rhythm and melody of the sound of such verses is worth noticing. For example, the following illustration may be observed:

"līlāvilolakalakaṇṭhavihaṅgakeli
kolāhākulakulāyakulāmalāṁke,
kakkolakandakadalīlavalīlavaṅga—
mālālalāmajalamañjulakūlakacche."
(H.V. IV. 35)

This verse contains the alliteration of the letters *la, va,* and *ma.*

Repetition (*Yamaka*):

Next to alliteration, the important Śabdālaṅkāra of the *Haravijaya,* is Repetition (Yamaka). This figure is employed very abundantly in the poem. The poet's main aim in the employment of this figure is, along with providing us with the different meaning, to render rhythmical beauty to the sound, which may be pleasing as much as possible, to the ears, because it is the repeating of words or parts of words of similar sound with divergent meanings. "The figure of speech, in which a large number of letters is alliterated but with diversity of meaning," as the Agnipurāṇa defines it, is called the Yamaka. In the *Haravijaya* its successful employment may be proved by the fact that the great rhetorician Mammaṭa found it so beautiful and appropriate that he could not help referring to it. In his *Kāvya-prakāśa,* Mammaṭa quotes this verse to illustrate 'Repetition':

"madhuparājiparājitamāninījanamanaḥsumanaḥ-
surabhiśriyam,
abhṛtavārita vārijaviplavaṃ sphuṭitatāmratatāmrava-
nam jagat."
(H.V. III. 2)

In this verse the words *'parāji', 'parāji'; 'manaḥsu', 'manaḥsu'; 'tavāri', 'tavāri';* and *'tatāmra', 'tatāmra'* are similar in sounds, while they give different meanings.

Another example of a very beautiful and appropriate employment of the figure Yamaka, in which the expression—'dānavarāsātipātisārāvanadā—occurs repeatedly, is given below:

"rajati taṭīyam abhihatadānavarāsātipātisārāvanadā,

gajatā ca yūtham aviratadānavarā sātipātisārāvanadā."

(H.V. 137)

Besides these simple repetitions, the *Haravijaya* contains some more intricate kinds of this figure too. Here is an example of the Great Repetition (Mahāyamaka), in which the whole verse creeps into the other, and, thus, the verses have no difference at all:

"savapuṣam utkarāhaṭakam akṣatatiniśāsanagatālīsavanam,

samadanavaśakalitātanurasadhavanāgotkaraṃ jarājitsattvaṃ."

(H.V. V. 141-2)

From the point of view of the poetic convention, Yamakas, in the *Haravijaya*, are quite appropriate. Repetitions are frequently employed in the description of nature in the fifth canto, and, in the forty-third canto of the poem they are used in the description of the battle.[17] The forty-third canto contains some very intricate Yamakās[18] as well as very simple ones.[19] Kālidāsa, too, employs this figure in the description of seasons and of hunting in the ninth canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa*.[20] Similarly, Māgha also used it in the description of the Mountain Raivataka, in the third canto, and of the sea-

17. Almost every verse of this canto is embellished with 'repetitions.'

18. *H. V.* XLIII.

19. *Ibid.* XLIII. 8.

20. V. Rāghvan: *Some Concepts of Alaṅkāraśāstra.*

sons in the sixth canto.[21] Thus, in the employment of 'Repetition', the *Haravijaya* of Ratnākara follows the tradition established by the poems which preceded it.

The Pictorial Figures (Cittrālaṅkāra & Bandha)

The charm in the employment of the Śabdālaṅkāra reaches its climax in the use of these pictorial figures.[22] With the abundance of Śabdālaṅkāras, poetry becomes more and more artificial, and the final stage of this artificiality is shown by the employment of Citrālaṅkāras. In Sanskrit poetry, this tendency had been continuously developing from Bhāravi. In Bhāravi such figures are found rarely; Māgha employs them abundantly, while Ratnākara exceeds the limit. According to the *Haravijaya*, 'the indispensable thing for a Mahākāvya, is the employment of various kinds of *Citrālaṅkāras* in the erotic descriptions.'[23]

The *Haravijaya* contains various 'bandhas' including *Gomūtrikābandha, Padmabandha, Cakrabandha*, and *Śūlabandha* etc. In these Bandhas, the arrangement of the letters in the form of lotus, circle (*padma* and *cakra*) etc.[24] shows the great skill, efficiency and command over the vocabulary of the poet, who does not get tired by playing on words, by

21. Māgha: *Śiśupālavadha*.

22. Buhler, *Kashmir Report*, P. 44 "The *Haravijaya* is full of fanciful *tours de force* which the pandits delight; Samudgakas, Padmabandhas, Avalis, Pratilomānulomas etc."

23. *H. V.* XV. 49. "avipannavibhavaśucitvam dadhad uddīpitamīnaketucakṣu, śriyam apād amuṣya citṅrabhedasphuṭaśṛṅgārarasaprabandhakalpam."

24. Wilson. *Agni Purāṇa*. CCCXLIII. p. 1259, "Citram (picture) signifies a peculiar artistic arrangement of words in the shape of a lotus, sword etc. in which the letters situated as the petals occupying the cardinal points of the compass, such as the north, south, east, west will convey one meaning when read in the natural order of rotation, and may signify quite a different meaning when read in an inverse order. The effect of such a composition is to stir up curiosity in the mind of the hearer, and to affect it with a sense of wonder......."

writing one or two such verses, but who uses about sixty kinds of Bandhas.

The arrangement of words in a pictorial form is carried out successfully. In order to examine this fact, some illustrations are given below, which will suffice to indicate the role of *Citrālaṅkāras* in the poem:

Sarvatobhadra[25]

"sārābhā vivibhārāsā rājitāgagatājirā,
bhātājite tejitābhā vigatena nate gavi."

(H.V. XLIII. 102)

sā	rā	bhā	vi	vi	bhā	rā	sā
rā	ji	tā	ga	ga	tā	ji	rā
bhā	tā	ji	te	te	ji	tā	bhā
vi	ga	te	na	na	te	ga	vi
vi	ga	te	na	na	te	ga	vi
bhā	tā	ji	te	te	ji	tā	bhā
rā	ji	tā	ga	ga	tā	ji	rā
sā	rā	bhā	vi	vi	bhā	rā	sā

25. *Kāvyādarśa,* III. 80 "prāhur ardhabhramaṇaṃ ślokārdhabhramaṇaṁyadi, tadiṣṭaṁ Sarvatobhdraṁ bhramaṇaṁ yadi sarvataḥ."

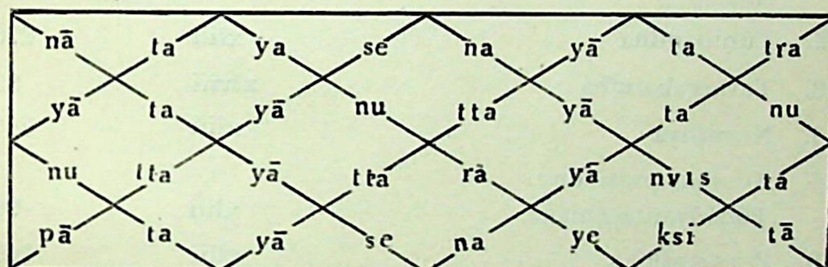
Ardhabhramaka

"adabhrabhītide nindye dakṣamanacchasādini.
bhramāgatagamāsāde bhīmatattvam āgacchati."

(H.V. XLIII. 113)

a	da	bhra	bhī	ti	de	ni	ndye
da	kṣa	ma	na	ccha	sā	di	ni
bhra	mā	ga	ta	ga	mā	sā	de
bhī	ma	ta	ttva	mā	ga	ccha	ti

Murajabandha



"natyā senayā tatra yātayā nuttayā tanu,
nuttyāttarayānviṣṭapātayā senayekṣitā."

(H.V. XLIII. 126)

Gomūtrikābandha



Following is the list of some of the Bandhas found in the *Haravijaya*:

S. No.	*Name of the Bandhas*	*Cantos*	*Stanzas*
1.	Ardhabhramaka	xliii	113
2.	Atālavya	xliii	168
3.	Arthatrayavācin	xliii	292
4.	Asaṁyogākṣarānekapāṭha-nandikavartana.	xliii	88
5.	Āvalibandha	xliii	375
6.	Ekāntaritadvyākṣara	xliii	107
7.	Ekāsarapādaḥ	xlviii	3
8.	Kāñcibandha	xliii	138
9.	Khaṁgabandha	xliii	160
10.	Gomūtrikābandha	xliii	63
11.	Caturṅgasvapādapūraṇa śloka.	xliii	146
12.	Tūṇibandha	xliii	276
13.	Tavargabandha	xlviii	82
14.	Niroṣṭhya	xliii	346
15.	Anulomapratiloma Pādādyantayamaka.	xliii	96
16.	Prastāraśloka	xliii	145
17.	Pādāyantayamaka	xliii	
18.	Murajabandha	xlii	126
19.	Musalabandha	xlii	156
20.	Śaktibandha	xliii	152
21.	Śūlabandha	xliii	232
22.	Śarabandha	xliii	30
23.	Saṁpuṭayamaka	xlviii	128
24.	Sandaṣṭayamaka	xliii	21
25.	Samudgayamaka	xlviii	41
26.	Samañjasabandha	xliii	71

27.	Sarvatobhadra	xliii	102
28.	Saptavyañjana	xlviii	13
29.	Śoḍaṣadalapadmabandha	xlvi	80
30.	Gomūtrikāmurajabandha	xlviii	75
31.	Kāñcigomūtrikāmuraja		
32.	Jalabandha	xliii	37
33.	Gomūtrikāmurajasvastika		
34.	Śatyādibandha	xlviii	115
35.	Samapratilomānulomapāda.	v	10
36.	Pratilomavilomapāda	v	28
37.	Yukpādapratiloma		
38.	Anulomapratilomapāda	xliii	67
39.	Pratilomānulomārdha	xlii	184
40.	Pratilomānulomacatuṣpāda.	v	140

GLORIES OF THE LATER VEERAŚAIVA RULERS OF THE SAṄGAMA DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE ON CHRONOLOGICAL BASIS

By B. V. Sreenivasa Rao*

(*Continued from Vol. XXII Parts* 1-2 *page* 150)

1430 *A.D.*

(Corresponding to Kali 4531, Śaka 1351-52, Chaitrādi Vikrama, 1487, Meṣādi (Solar) year in Bengal 836. Kollam, 604-5, Saumya samvatsara).

1. Harima daughter of Vijaya and a sister of Devarāya II married Sāluva-Tippa the father of Sāluva Goparāja.[1]

2. The year 1430 A.D. marks the accession of Kulaśekhara Śrīvallabha Pāṇḍya also called Alaganperumal, and Kumāra Kulaśekhara.[2]

3. Goparāja of Sāluva family was flourishing in 1430 A.D.[3]

4. The Reddi chiefs of Koṇḍaviḍu are said to belong to the Panṭakula family. Their original seat was Addanki in Nellore District and their tract was called the Puṅgināḍu or Pākanāḍu. The founder of the family was Donti Allaḍa-reddi who acquired a fortune.

5. The name of Komaṭivema of the above Koṇḍaviḍu-reddi clan is mentioned in 1430 A.D.[4]

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1. Vide page 400, *Historical Inscriptions of Sourthern India* by S. K. Iyengar, "The First Sangama Dynasty", vide p. 1,571. *Mys. Gaz.*, Vol. II, Part III, R. H. R.

2. Vide Page 380, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* by S. K. Iyengar.

3. Vide page 387, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* by S. K. Iyengar.

4. Vide page 385, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* by S. K. Iyengar.

6. Śrīgiri Alias Pratāpa-Devarāya was the Governor of Candragiri.[5]

7. Gao and Candragutti, were in charge of Hanidyarāya, a son of Arasappa styled the Treasurer.[6]

8. Lakkanna was in charge of Mulubāgilu and Tekal provinces.[7]

9. Devarāya II had 10,000 Turuṣka Horsemen in his service.[8]

10. Devarāya II made a gift of a golden cow along with an Agrahāra to Brāhmins.[9]

11. There was a mutual agreement between right-hand and left-hand castes (Volaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai) regarding the regulation of their social conduct.[10]

12. Lakkanna was ruling at Muluvayil Nāḍu.[11]

13. Cāmarasa was by birth a Veeraśaiva.[12]

14. A record dated 1430 A.D. tells us that the Devarāya II's elder sister Harima's husband was Sāluva Tippadeva, an

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5. Vide *M. E. R.* 1910, App. c. 173; vide p. 1,571, *Mys. Gaz.*, Vol. II, R. H. R.

6. Vide E. C. VII, Shikaripur No. 40, vide p. 1,583, *Mys. Gaz.*, Vol. II, Part III, R. H. R.

7. Vide E. C. X, Bowringpete-72; vide p. 1,584, *Mys. Gaz.*, Vol. II, Part III, R. H. R.

8. Vide E. C. III, Śrī rangapatnam-15, dated in 1430; vide p. 1,596, *Mys. Gaz.*, Vol. II, Part III, R. H. R.

9. Vide E. C. III, Śrīrangapatna-15, dated 1430 A. D., vide p. 1,598, *Mys. Gaz.*, Vol. II, Part III, R H. R.

10. Vide *M. E. R.* 1926, para 36, App. C. No. 253 of 1926; vide p. 1,666, *Mys. Gaz.*, Vol. II, Part III, R. H. R.

11. Vide P. 7,785, *I. A.*, Vol. 57, Vol. LVII, May, 1928.

12. Vide Introduction *Prabhulingaleele-saṅgraha*, Mysore University Publications, Editors B. M. Śrīkaṇṭaiah and M. S. Basavalingaiah and M. R. Śrīnivāsamurthy.

ornament to the Lunar race, a royal swan at the feet of Kaṁsāri.[13]

15. Devarāya II granted a village Lingampāḍu to Annamāradhya, the Governor of Northern Gate of Śrīśaila. This Lingampāḍu is in Candragiri Rājya.[14]

16. Camarasa wrote *Prabhuligaleele*. Kumāravyāsa wrote Mahābhārata. Jakkaṇārya wrote *Ekottara-śata-sthala*.[15]

17. Nāgideva of Karasthala wrote *Vacanas*.[16]

18. Guḍḍavve was a very good composer of *Vacanas* (Vacanagarti).[17]

19. Veeranna of Karasthala was a great poet of this period.[18]

20. The following poets belonged to this period.

1. Kallamaṭhada Prabhudeva.[19]
2. Kavi Śrīgirīndra.[20]
3. Maggeya Mayideva wrote *Anubhavasūtra*.[21]
4. Gurubasava wrote *Sivayogāṅgabhūṣaṇa*.[22]

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13. Vide *E. C.* XI, ed. 29, page 9; vide pp. 4-5, Article on "Dynastic continuity in Vijayanagar History" by Dr. B. A. S.

14. Vide *Nellore inscriptions Butterworth's*.

15. Vide pp. 57, 59, 65, Dwitiya samputa, *Karnāṭaka Kavi Caritre* by R. Narasimhacharya.

16. Vide p. 241, *Karnāṭaka Kavi Caritre*, Vol. III, by R. Narasimhacharya.

17. Vide p. 355, *Karnāṭaka Kavi Caritre*, Vol. III, by R. Narasimhacharya.

18. Vide p. 362, *Karnāṭaka Kavi Caritre*, Vol. III, by R. Narasimhacharya.

19. Vide pp. 6-62, *Karnāṭaka Kavi Caritre*, Vol. II, by R. Narasimhacharya.

20. Vide p. 69, *Karnāṭaka Kavi Caritre*, Vol. II, by R. Narasimhacharya.

21. Vide pp. 70-71, *Karnāṭaka Kavi Caritre*, Vol. II, by R. Narasimhacharya.

22. Vide p. 74, *Karnāṭaka Kavi Caritre*, Vol. II, by R. Narasimhacharya.

5. Candrakavi wrote *Virūpākṣasthāna*.[23]

6. Gururāja wrote in Sanskrit *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritre*.[24]

7. Kavi Candraśekhara wrote *Gurumūrthiśaṅkara-śataka*.[25]

8. Camarasa initiated Devarāya II. In other words Devarāya II got initiation (Veeraśaiva Dīkṣā) by Camarasa, the author of *Prabhulingaleele*.[23]

21. The Customs Officer exempted the servants of the Temple of Śrīpatīśvara on the Siti-hill dated 1430 A.D. from the payment of certain taxes.[27]

22. Perumaladaṇḍanāyaka was king's minister in 1430 A.D.[28]

23. Right from 1415 A.D. Timmaṇṇa Oḍeya, Chandrapparasa Oḍeya were also ministers. They continued as Devarāya II's Ministers also. From 1414 A.D. even to the close of Devarāya II's time, Baichappa Oḍeya was King's minister. Lakkaṇṇanāyaka, Mādaṇṇanāyaka, Chamarasa, Jakkaṇṇa, Gururāya, Siddahamantri and his father Janna mantri etc., were his ministers.[29]

24. Sāluva Goparāja a feudatory of Devarāya II established Śamburāya in his Kingdom. Vide E. C. Vol. X Nr. 3.[30]

25. Perumale Dannāyaka was the Prime Minister in 1430 A.D. when Hosabasti at Mudabidri was constructed by

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23. Vide p. 81, *Karnāṭaka Kavi Caritre*, Vol. II, by R. Narasimhacharya.

24. Vide p. 314, *Karnāṭaka Kavi Caritre*, Vol. II, by R. Narasimhacharya.

26. Vide *Gururāja Caritra* (1650 A. D.) *Corabasava Caritra*, 1763 A. D. vide pp. 64-65, *Karnāṭaka Kavi Caritre*, Vol. II, by R. Narasimhacharya.

27. Vide p. 38, *Arch. Survey of Mysore*.

28. Vide pp. 77-85, *I. A.*, Vol. 57, May, 1928.

29. Vide pp. 77-85, *I. A.*, Vol. 57, May, 1928.

30. Vide p. 92, *I. A.*, Vol. 38, Parts I to VIII.

Devarāja Oḍeya of Nāgamaṅgala. Sāluva Tipparāja and his son Goparāja were ruling Tekal under Devarāya II.[31]

26. An Epigraph of 1430 A.D. states that Devarāya II had 10,000 Turkish horsemen, in his service.[32]

27. Nicolo-Conti a noble Venetian traveller calls, Quilon as Coloen. (vide 1430)[33]

28. Hosabasti dedicated to Candranātha was built at Mudabidri.[34]

29. The poets such as Sarvajñasingama, Gowraṇṇa, Bammera Potana, Kolachala Mallinathasuri, Peddibhaṭṭa, Nāganātha, Visweswarakavi, Aruṇagirinatha, Gowda Diṇḍima Bhaṭṭa, Nissankakomma, Nemachandraprachandatārkikaratna etc., flourished in Devarāya II's reign.[35]

30. Permission was given to dig earth in the Tank at Narkunam.[36]

31. Settlement of a dispute between certain merchants of Bārakuru while Chandarasa Oḍeya was a governor for Bārakuru Tulu Rājya.[37]

32. Desi Vijakkondasalapattanam in Tagadanadu was a sub-dision of Ganganāḍu in the District of Nigarilisolamandalam in 1430-31 A.D.[38]

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31. Vide *A. S. I. A. R.* 1907-08 pp. 235-254.

32. Vide E. C. III, Sr. 15, Introduction p. 237, vide p. 319, *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar Empire* by Dr. T. V. Mahalingam.

33. Vide p. 271, *History of Kerala* by K. P. Padmanabhan, Vol. I.

34. Vide pp. 3 to 10, the *Jaina Gazettee*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, January, 1927.

35. Vide pp. 77-85, *I. A.*, Vol. 57, May, 1928.

36. Vide p. 15, No. 87, *M. E. R.* for 1905-1906 Government of Madras, G. O. No. 492, 2nd July, 1906.

37. Vide p. 17, No. 119, Nos. 762-763, Public 25th July, 1901, *M. E. R.*

38. Vide p. 21, No. 193, No. 832 Public 28th July, 1911, *M. E. R.*

33. Gift of lands made to god Veerabhadra of Bukka-paṭna. (Jammalamaḍugu Tq) Cuddapah Dist. by Kumara Thimmanna garu and other prominent men of the place for the king Saluva, Tipparāja and Nala Kamparāja.[39]

34. Order of Śrigirināthaodeyar to Vaccharasar, the controller of Tolls to collect on behalf of the King a duty of one Panam on every loom in the Tirumadaivilagam for the expenses of the God Tiruppudi-Varam-Udaiyar.[40]

35. King Devarāya II issued an order to his officer Śrī-girinātha at Chandragiri regarding the assignment of the Jodi due to Chandragirirājya for offerings, festivals and repairs to Porerru-Perumal Temple at Tirupputkuli in Damarkottam, in Chandragirirajyam.[41]

36. Gift by Perumaladeva Dannānayaka Udaiyar of some taxes levied on Vepper for the expenses of conducting a service in the name of Devarāya Mahārāyar in the Temple of Tiruvaditteśvaran, Udaiya-nayanār at Vepper in Kalavai-parru.[42]

37. Gift of Tuya-veli in Malanāḍu as a Tirunanattuk-kani to the temple of Tiruttavatturaiudaiya Naianar by Vyāsabhārati Paramahamsa a son of Nimbai Dakshinamurthy, and Marataka-valliyur of Chillamantāgrahāra in Toṇḍaimaṇ-ḍalam and the chief disciple of Ramachandrasaraswati. The latter received the epithets Paramahamsa Parivarājakācārya, Padavakya Pramāṇa Prathiṣthapaka and Bhogavardhana-Pari-ṣad-Dhurandhara.[43]

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39. Vide p. 38, No. 300, A. R. for 1935-36.

40. Vide p. 73, No. 207, A. R. on Epigraphy for the year 1921-22.

41. Vide p. 80, No. 80, R. No. 172, G. O. No. 99, 29th August, 1916.

42. Vide p. 6, No. 496, A. R. for 1926-27 (South Indian Epigraphy).

43. Vide p. 17, No. 131, A. R. S. I. E. for the year 1928-29.

38. Devarāya II made grants to Śringeri Guru Śri Śankara-Bharati who on the invitation of the Emperor visited Vijayanagar. King Devarāya made a grant to him of the village Konguvalli for the maintenance of the Temple and of the Yatis (ascetics) and other charities in Śringeri.[44]

39. The Jaina Colossus of Gomata at Kārkala was set up in this year by Virapāṇḍya, the chief of Kalasa, son of Bhairava. His family was allied to Santara family of Humcha.[45]

40. Honnanagowda son of Chikkannagowda of Anevala in about 1430 A.D. erected the Basti of Brahmadeva and Padmāvati in order that Bommannagowda the son born to him might obtain merit.[46]

41. Sante (weekly fair- was established by 56 countries, composed of all the cultivators. The office of the Pattanaswamy was given to Buḍapasetti by Junja-Vobayya-Nayaka's son Chitivoyya-Nayaka. vide E. C. X Bp. 83.[47]

42. Holeyas who were exempted from paying Toll taxes in 1430 A.D. were the dependents of Salumules and Vīra Baṇajigas, in certain localities of Karnataka. vide E. C. X Bp. 72.[48]

43. Śrigirinātha Oḍeyar gave donations for a new Chatra or Rest House of the God Śrigiri Mallikārjuna. Saṅgamadevi, (wife of Śrigiri Oḍeyar, gave up the house, she was

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44. Vide p. LXVIII, *Selections from the Records of the Śrīngeri Mutt,* Vol. I.

45. Vide p. 1,430, A. D. the *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* by S. K. Iyengar.

46. Vide E. C. IV, Hs. 62, vide p. 13, *Social and Political Life in Vijayanagar Empire,* Vol. II, B. A. S.

47. Vide p. 106, *Social and Political Life in Vijayanagar Empire,* Vol. II, B. A. S.

48' Vide p. 118, *Social and Political Life in Vijayanagar Empire,* Vol. II, B. A. S.

in together with wells and fruit trees for 19 Brahmins of the Chatra, and for the ten Jangamas for whom the nad-people have provided in the Chatra, the Brahmin who attends to them, and two Sudra women to clean up for the 13 persons. Whoever is the manager of the Brahmin Chatra will collect from the nad people the amount specified for the entire 32 persons.[49]

44. King Devarāya II had ten thousand (10,000) Turkish horsemen in his service.[50]

45. Mahapradhana Lakkanna Oḍeya who was governing the Principality of Honnavara, participated with Saṅgirāya Oḍeya of Nagari in a struggle to capture Haduvalli. In this battle, Isarananāyaka, a son of Bommannanāyaka of Nagari, fell fighting on the side of his master Bhairavadeva Oḍeya. Another battle noted here is that of the Battle fought at Kaikini right within the kingdom of Nagari.[51]

46. Remission of the taxes such as Jodi, and Sulavari by the King for worship in Margasahayeśvara Temple in Virinchipuram, Vellore Tq. N. Arcot District.[52]

47. Appointment of Angakkan a son of Vengadakkan, as the Tirunanda Vilakku-k-kuḍi of the temple of Attimalaip-Perumal by two persons.[53]

48. Kommanārya, the son of the Minister Rama, who was initiated (for sacrifice) having performed here the sacri-

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49. Vide E. C. VIII, Ti. 33, vide p. 368, *Social and Political Life in Vijayanagar Empire*, Vol. II, B. A. S.

50. Vide E. C. III, Introduction p. 23, Sr. 15, p. 1, vide p. 410, *Social and Political Life in Vijayanagar Empire*, B. A. S.

51. Vide pp. 117 to 120, No. 50 of 1939-40, *Karnataka Inscriptions* Vol. I, edited by R. S. Panchamukhi.

52. Vide p. 55, No. 210, A. R. S. I. E. for 1939-40 to 1942-43.

53. Vide p. 85, No. 78, A. R. S. I. E. for 1939-40 to 1942-43.

fices Agnisthoma and Atirātri as per scripture permanently set up (the image of) Yagneśwara.[54]

49. Kommanna Somayājulu who is the Prime Minister (Pradhani) of Komatireddi, the son of Śrigirireddi with the help of his sons Ramachandra brought a Svayambhu-Linga (a natural linga) from the Pātālagaṅga at Śrisaila to the sacred place where he had performed the two sacrifices Agnishtoma and Atirāti between Tumileru and the Tomperu (two streams in the Town of Chundi to the North of Chaundi Fort, and set it up as Yajneśwaradeva. This Kommanna-somayājulu caused to be built a Stone Temple and a mantapa for the deity. He set up all round this deity (images of) Vighneśvara, Durgi, Gopala-Deva and Bhairavadeva and caused to be erected stone temple for these deities. He planted a grove alround the Prakara of the deity (Yagneśvara) caused to be built a sacrificial fire place on the North-West of it and founded an endowment for providing all enjoyments to that deity.[55]

1431 *A.D.*

(Corresponding to Kali 4532, Saka 1352-53, Chaitradi Vikrama, 1488 Meṣādi (Solar) year in Bengal 837, Kollam 605-06, *Śādhāraṇa* Samvatsara).

1. The year 1431 marks the name of Komati of the family of Koṇḍavīḍu Reddi family.[56]

2. The year 1431 A.D. mentions the name of Állada or Alla or Allaya, of the Reddi family of Rajahmundry. The same year 1431 A.D. mentions the name of Doḍḍa or Allaya

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54. Vide pp. 501-502, *Nellore Inscriptions,* Part II, Kandukur-17, by A. Butterworth and V. V. Chetti.

55. Vide pp. 495-496, *Nellore Inscriptions* by A. Butterworth and V. V. Cheti.

56. Vide p. 385, Historical Inscriptions of Southern India by S. K. Iyengar.

Doḍḍa of Rajahmundry Reddi family Doḍḍa II was also called "Karpura Vasantaraya; Saṅgrāma Bhima, and Jagannobbagendra Allada (1431 A.D.) defeated Alp Khan. He made an alliance with the Gajapathis. His wife Vemāmbika was a grand-daughter of king Anavema of Koṇḍavidu.[57]

3. Lakkanna Dannayaka and his brother Mādanna Dannayaka, made a grant of six villages to Prasannavirupakṣa Temple.[58]

4. The people of Araga, and Hole-Honnūru made a grant in favour of the Sattra, and other works of merit, Rāyanna Odeya, established at Kūdali.[59]

5. Barakuru rājya was under Channarasaodeya.[60]

6. Lakkanna Dannayaka and Madanna Dannayaka built a Temple in 1431 A.D. at Virupakṣapura, in the Kolar District called Prasanna Virupakṣa and provided for it an enclosure wall, towers, mandapas, Matha, Agraharas etc.[61]

7. Goparaja who became a Governor of Tekal Province was the son of Tipparaja Oḍeyar (vide E. C. X Malur 1 and 3) who was the husband of Harima elder sister of Devarāya II.[62] Goparaja restored the Tekal Fort in 1431 A.D. erected Rajaghambhira Bastion in it. Then Goparaja and his son Tippaiah had tigers seized and brought and hunted them at it. This bastion is called (Avasarada Kottala) or Urgency bastion and it was built close to the Mantapa facing

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57. Vide p. 386, Historical Inscriptions of Southern India by S. K. Iyengar.

58. Vide E. C. XI, Mulbagal No. 2. vide p. 1,559, *Mys. Gaz.*, Vol. II, Part III, R. H. R.

59. Vide E. C. VIII, Shimoga, 71 dated in 1431 A. D.

60. Vide M. E. R. 1901, Appendix No. 148, vide p. 1,584, *Mys. Gaz.*, Vol. II, Part III, R. H. R.

61. Vide E. C. X Mulbagal, 2 and 96, vide p. 1,584, *Mys. Gaz.*, Vol. II, Part III, R. H. R.

62. Vide E. C. XI 29.

the God Varadaraja in the Fort. The work of restoration was carried by Singaraja, the minister of Goparaja, vide E. C. X Malur 1 and 3. This Singiraja was the son of Mallanaraja and is credited with the transportation in 1431 A.D. of the image named Gaṇḍa-Bheruṇḍa which was on the Maragandana kaṭṭe, west of Dudunahalli in Palnad to the door of the Gopura in front of the Mantapa facing the god Varadaraja at Tekal (Malur-3). One Gururaya is mentioned as a Chief Minister of Devaraja II, Chandrakavi mentions his name in his poem Virupakṣasthāna written on the orders of Gururaya. This Gururaya was a new Bhoja-raja in his love for arts. and science. He was known as Raya Bhandari Narayana.[63]

8. Another Minister for Devaraya II Mangappa Dannanayaka made a grant to the Somadeva Temple at Shankarasamudra. vide E. C. IX Bangalore 127, dated 1431, A.D. in order that long life health and wealth may be to Devarāya II.[64]

9. Devarāya II mạde Tulapurushā and ruled the Kingdom peacefully vide E. C. VIII Shimogga 71, dated in 1431 A.D.[65]

10. Lakkanna was ruling at Muluvayal nāḍu.[66]

11. Lakkanna's advent to the Pandyan region took place in 1431 A.D.[67]

12. Chandarasa Oḍeya was a Governor for Bārakūru rajya in 1431-32 A.D.[68]

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63. Vide p. 1587, *Mys. Gaz.*, Vol. II, Part III, R. H. R.
64. Vide p. 1,587, *Mys. Gaz.*, Vol. II, Part III,. R. H. R.
65. Vide p. 1,598, *Mys. Gaz.*, Vol. II, Part III, R. H. R.
66: Vide pp. 77-85, *I. A.*, Vol. 57, May, 1928.
67. Vide p. 10, *I. A.*, Vol. 43, 1914.
68. Vide p. 17, No. 120, Nos. 762, 763, Public 25th July, 1901, *M. E. R.*

13. Chandarasa Oḍeya was a Governor of Bārakūru Rajya in 1431-32 A.D.[69]

14. Gift of land by Chandapa a Governor of Bārakūru Tulu rajya to Kavi Shankarabhatta, a son of Kavi Krishnabhatta of Śringerimaṭha.[70]

15. Timmayanayaka, gifted a village Ganapathinadu in Mangalanadu near the Hill called Raja Ghambhira Malai, to the Tirumala-nāyinar temple for the victory of the King Devarāya II.[71]

16. Sakkarasar a son of Ayiluarasar, repaired south wall of Vijayaraghava Perumal temple at Tiruppukkuli (conjeevaram Tq. Chengalput District.[72]

17. It registers that the commandar (Mahapradhanar) Perumali Deva Dannāyaka Udaiyur son of Ādimūlasaraman of the Kasyapagotra remitted certain taxes, on the lands in Avali in Kalavaipparu for conducting festivals to the God Tiruvadittīsvaran Udaiya Nayanar at Veppur on the day of Srati, in the month of Chittirai, every year, which was the annivarsary of the King's birth, Silupparasar the Governor of the Padaividurajyam, exempted these lands from the payment of taxes.[73]

18. Annappa a son of Devarāja was ruling Mangalure rājya under the orders of Pradhāna Hariyappa Dannanayaka. It records gifts of lands by several individuals of Tilugadiyanādu for the requirements of the temple of Mahadeva at Puttur situated in the country administered by (Padya- PPa

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69. Vide p. 21, No. 173, Nos. 762, 763, Public 25th July, 1901, *M. E. R.*

70. Vide p. 38, No. 284, A. R. for 1936-37.

71. Vide p. 42, No. 347, No. 961, Public 2nd March, August, 1913.

72. Vide p. 83, No. 200, G. O. No. 99, 29th August, 1916.

73. Vide p. 7, No. 497, A. R. 1926-27, South Indian Epigraphy.

Arasa, *alias* Banga, on the occasion of the visit of the teacher Kriyasaktideva to the place.[74]

19. Gift of land made by Chandarasa Odeyar a Governor of Bārakūru in lieu of the income in gold from Nadauru previously granted in the time of Tuluva King for temple of Gopinatha at putasaligeri Udupi Tq.[75]

20. Gift of lands on the occasion of the visit of the teacher Kriyashakti Deva to the place.[76]

21. The wood work for the Varadaraja Temple was done by a black-smith by name Anjala Divingora.[77]

22. One Rāyanna Oḍeya constructed a Chatra; all the farmers of Anaveri Nad and the Holaya Honnurnāḍ in 1431 agreeing among themselves gave him Dannanayakapura with all the taxes and dues, in the presence of all the gods of Kudali.[78]

23. Koṇḍaviḍu Reḍḍi Chief Allaya Dodda of of Rajamundri granted the village of Gumpiri to several Brahmins.[79]

24. Appointment of Nalletattan son of Periyandar for the collection of taxes due to the temple of Attimalaip Perumal from the Vanduyarapati (community) at Kannamangalam by Tondaiman, the officer in charge of the village.[80]

25. Nad—a custom of levying duties or imports—was the following:—

74. Vide p. 30, No. 344, A. R. for 1930-31.

75. Vide p. 34, No. 315, A. R. for 1931-32.

76. Vide p. 48, A. R. S. I. E. for 1931.

77. Vide E. C. X, Mr. 3 p. 156; vide 270, *Social and Political Life in Vijayanagar Empire,* Vol. II, B. A. S.

78. Vide E. C. VII, Sh. 71, vide p. 369, *Social and Political Life in Vijyanagar Empire,* Vol. II, B. A. S.

79. Vide p. 36, Private grant No. 5, *Catalogue of Copper Plate grants,* Govt. Museum, Madras.

80. Vide p. 85, No. 77, A. R. S. I. E. for 1939-40 to 1942-43.

Tax on Artisans, village Gadyana, the five kinds of workmen, tax on oil-mills, tax on tortoises, stamps on looms, inward and outward dues, tax on marriages together with the custom dues, food for watchmen loading of sweepings and Gowda's claim.[81] Then, again we have in the same reign Nattukkanikkai, Nattuviniyogam, Pattirai, Padagavari, Palavari, Puduvari, Pulugupaddu, Porpadu, Kasupadu, Pudavaippadu Mulaikkuli on tenants, their cows, horses and goats.[82]

26. Mahapradhana Lakkanna Oḍeya was ruling Honnavara Country in the capacity of a Governor. He participated in a Siege of Haduvalli in conjunction with Mahamandaleswara Sangiraya of Naigire.[83]

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81. Vide E. C. VII, Sh. 71, p. 28, Text, p. 74.

82. Vide p. 157, *Social and Poliitcal Life in Vijyanagar Empire*, Vol. I, B. A. S.

83. Vide p. 42, A. R. of *Kannada Research in Bombay Province for* 1939-40, Kannada Research Office, Dharwar.

OBITUARY

MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA DR. UMESHA MISHRA

It is a matter of great sorrow that the cruel hands of Death have snatched away Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Umesha Mishra from our midst on September 9, 1967. He was the Honorary Secretary of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute since its very inception and as such the Institute owes everything it has today to him and it is difficult to think of it without remembering him. He reared this *Journal* with unflinching devotion and made it act as a forum in which problems of Indological learning could be discussed. He had, as was rightly observed by Sri K. C. Vardachari, a dynamic and thrilling personality which he used for a dedicated pursuit after truth like a ṛṣi or seer of olden days. In his passing away the Indian scholarly world has suffered a very great loss but the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute has literally become an orphan.

Mahāmahopādhyāyajī was born on November 18, 1895 in a village called Binhi which is situated near Janakapur in the Kingdom of Nepal, the ancient capital of King Janaka Videha. He was born in the illustrious Sodarapura family of Maithila Paṇḍitas to which belonged eminent scholars of the past like Śaṅkara Miśra, and Jayadeva Miśra *alias* Pakṣadhara. His father Mahāmahopādhyāya Jayadeva Miśra was professor of Vyākaraṇa in the College of Oriental Learning at Banaras Hindu University and was one of the last representatives of the great traditional Sanskrit scholars of the last century Varanasi who was also an author of learned treatises on the philosophy of Vyākaraṇa-Śāstra. It would

not be out of place to mention here that the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Sir Gaṅgānātha Jhā always gratefully acknowledged that he had the good fortune of learning the various Śāstras at the feet of Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Jayadeva Miśra.

Dr. Umesha Mishra had thus the aptitude for a scholarly career by birth. He studied Sanskrit Vaṅgmaya on sound traditional lines since the very beginning under his father and uncle the late Paṇḍita Madhusūdana Miśra. Later he sat at the feet of several eminent Paṇḍitas of Kāśī, such as, Mahāmahopādhyāya Vāmācaraṇa Bhaṭṭācārya, Mahāmahopādhyāya Ambādāsa Śastrī, Mahāmahopādhyāya Phaṇibhūṣaṇa Tarkavāgīśa and Mahāmahopādhāya Rajanātha Miśra. At the same time he undertook the task of studying Sanskrit on modern Western lines also in the Banaras Hindu University and took the Master's degree from there in 1920. Later he carried on his higher studies under modern Indologists such as: Professor A. B. Dhruva and Mahāmahopādhyāy Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha, and under me he finally mastered the modern methods of research. In 1923 he appeared at the Tīrtha Examination of Calcuttta and obtained the "title" of Kāvyatīrtha. Soon after this Dr. Umesha Mishra was appointed a lecturer at the newly reorganised University of Allahabad in 1923 as a specialist in Indian Philosophy in the Sanskrit Department. He had in the meanwhile chosen the study of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Systems of Indian Philosophy, which are ordinarily considered to be the most difficult branches of it, as his particular field of work. In 1932 he obtained the degree of D.Litt. on his thesis on these branches of Indian Philosophy. This thesis was published later on as *The Conception of Matter*. He was at once accepted by the scholars everywhere, in the words of Dr. Ganganatha Jha, "the greatest living authority on Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika."

In 1943 the Government of India conferred upon Dr. Mishra the highest distinction of a Sanskritist, viz., the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya in recognition of his contributions to knowledge. He had contributed more than 12 original books and 60 edited books and 150 original research papers on various subjects. He was twice elected sectional president of the All India Oriental Conference and in 1948 organized its XIV Session at Darbhanga with great success. The Government of Bihar appointed him a member of the Bihar Sanskrit Education Reorganization Committee and subsequently asked him to organize their Mithila Sanskrit Research Institute at Darbhanga as its first Director in 1951. After Dr. Mishra retired from the University of Allahabad, they again requested him to become the Vice-Chancellor of K. S. Sanskrit University at Darbhanga in 1961. The Government of Uttar Pradesh asked Dr. Mishra in 1959 to sum up his vast erudition and original thinking on Indian Philosophy in Hindi and the result was the great contribution to Hindi literature called *Bharatīya Darśana* which was published by it. Meanwhile Dr. Mishra began to collect the result of his lifelong studies in Indian Philosophy in the form of his *magnum opus*: *History of Indian Philosophy* (in five volumes). The first two volumes of this monumental work were published during his life-time and won praise from all—scholars, students and public men. It was felt that a veritable encyclopaedia of accurate and lucid knowledge on Indian philosophical tradition was being at last unfolded. The third volume of this work was made ready for the press on the day he expired and the fourth volume is ready for final press copy. But unfortunately the fifth volume in which he wanted to put what he conscientiously avoided in the earlier volumes, viz., a comparative study of the Eastern and Western Thought, could neither be written nor worked out in its details.

His method of work was relentless hard labour. Invariably he exhaustively re-read all the available relevant texts, whether in print or manuscript, before he sat to write about any System. He believed in presenting every viewpoint purely and faithfully and he had found out a wonderful synthesis in all our Systems of Thought, and would not therefore confuse one with the other but rather present them in a graded perspective, at once clear and rationally intelligible. It is this thoroughness and synthesizing quality which distinguished Dr. Mishra's scholarship in this field and which, alas, we do not find in the writings of many writers on Indian philosophy today.

Dr. Mishra was also a great scholar of Maithili literature. He reconstructed the history of Maithili literature in a series of papers contributed to the quarterly research journal of the Hindustani Academy and published an authoritative monograph on *Vidyāpati Ṭhākura* in 1937. He presided over many Maithili Conferences and in one of them (at Ghoṅgharaḍīhā 1929) made a memorable speech which later became the foundation of modern style of writing Maithili prose. He was himself a versatile writer of Maithili and ever since his student days he wrote in the various Maithili magazines. He wrote stories, translations, literary essays and original research papers on Indological subjects in plenty. A collected edition of his Maithili works has been undertaken and it is hoped that it would be available to the public at an early date. He was ever ready to uphold the cause of his mother tongue and it is known to all that he was largely responsible for the present position of the Maithili language in the country.

Dr. Umesha Mishra was associated with many learned bodies in the country and had actively worked for them in

various capacities. The University of Madras, the Banaras Hindu University, the Allahabad University and the Darbhanga Sanskrit University had actually entrusted him with the preparation and publication of various important and rare works of philosophy and literature.. He wrote and either edited rare manuscripts for or supervised work done at the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, the Baroda Oriental Research Institute, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, the Saraswati Bhawan of the Varanaseya Sanskrit University, the Mithila Research Institute, Hiṇdi Sahitya Sammelan and the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute.

But of all these bodies, his most intimate relations were, as observed earlier, with the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute. He edited its Research *Journal* and regularly wrote most of its reviews all these 22 years that it has existed. In the midst of his busy life he never forgot to correct its proofs, select its articles and edit them in advance. He had an unbounded affection for and devotion towards two of his *gurus* Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍita Gaṅgānātha Jhā and me and in his untiring and ungrudging services to the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute for more than a quarter of a century it must be acknowledged that he amply paid off the debt he owed to one of them.

Mahāmahopādhyāyaji was well-known for his staunch orthodox way of living. He lived the life of a Sanskrit scholar of the older generation, following the instructions of the Dharmaśāstras to the letter, as he understood them. He lived a life of simplicity verging on austerity. All day long one could see him in his study—reading, writing, teaching, explaining and discussing problems of literature and philosophy. He literally slept in his library, woke in his

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library, worked in his library, laughed in his library and wept in his library.

Dr. Mishra was widely known and his influence went beyond the boundaries of this country. He was known as a bibliophile and his missionary zeal for Hindu religion and philosophy were infectious. His love of scholarship for its own sake, and his irrepressible enthusiasm for good and upright conduct were writ on his face and there was hardly a moment of his life that was not engaged in some noble work. He had no hobbies, no amusements, no side interests. All his energies were for all time that he lived geared to the causes which he had made his own.

It must be said at the end that though he died full of years and honours, it seems as if he died young and could not fulfil all that he had planned. He was so full of plans and evinced such zest in his work that till the last day of his life the impression was indelibly left that here was a young man who has been engaged in his work like every other student in his field for a long time and who still hopes to do much. After his retirement from the University of Allahabad, and even after his retirement from the K. S. Sanskrit University of Darbhanga he never felt lonely or out of work. He was never so busy and occupied as when he had retired from official duties. Among his other great works we may mention the following: the*Medhātithi Bhāṣya* of *Manusmṛti* published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the *Index of the Śabara Bhāṣya* (English translation) published by the Baroda Oriental Institute, the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* of Jayadeva published by the Mithila Sanskrit Research Institute, *Mīmāṁsākusumāñjali or Critical Bibliography of Pūrve Mīmāṁsā* published by the Banaras Hindu University, *Nimbārka School of Vedanta, Studies in Bhagwat Gītā, Bhāratīya*

Tarkaśāstra, Sāṅkhya-Yoga Darśana, Maithil Samskṛtio Sabhyatā and various others.

A *Mishra Commemoration Volume* has been published posthumously and released for sale by the Rashtrapati on November 30, 1967 and bears ample testimony to the esteem and popularity of the late Mahāmahopādhāyajī among the scholars. Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan has recently summed up his work as: "Unquestionally one of the most valuable contributions to our knowledge of Indian Philosophy."

May God bestow peace upon his soul !

—*Gopinath Kaviraj*

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

SOME ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF HINDUISM. By R. N. Dandekar, Published by University of Poona, Poona; pages 142.

The present monograph is the collection of five lectures which the author gave under the Government Research Fellowship scheme under the auspices of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay during March 1967. The five lectures are: 1. Protohistoric Hinduism, 2. Vedic Interlude I: Mythology; 3. Vedic Interlude II: Magic, Ritualism and Spiritualism; 4. Classical Hinduism: Consolidation and Proliferation; and 5. Hinduism and Modern Culture.

Dr. Dandekar is an exponent of the theory that Hinduism began with the Indus valley period or, presumably, even with the pre-Indus Valley period. He co-relates the iconolatory of the Indus religion with the classical Hinduism quite different from the Vedic religion. In his lecture on Proto-historic Hinduism, he gives detailed illustrations to support his theme. In Indus religion, as in classical Hinduism, which is contemporary of Vedism, if not earlier, animals seem to have been worshipped either as themselves or as vehicles of gods or as attributes of gods. These animals, again, have been represented, mostly on seals and sealings, either as mythical strange animals or as real common animals as depicted on Indus seals. Without subscribing to the views of the author, it may be stated that the learned lecturer has very well put his case in this lecture.

In the next two lectures on the Vedic Interlude, the lecturer ascribes to the Saṁhitā, Brāhmaṇa and Upaniṣads the

three aspects respectively: mythology, rituals and philosophy. Vedism, according to the lecturer, is not the fountain-head of Hinduism; Hinduism did avow allegiance to the Veda but it did so only because such allegiance was expected to strengthen its position in its encounter with the so-called heretic religious movements: the initiative in this historical process lay not with Vedism but with Hinduism itself.

The Fourth Lecture on Classical Hinduism classifies Hinduism into five periods: the beginnings (*circa* 600 B.C. to 200 B.C.), the definition, consolidation and classicalization; 200 B.C. to 700 A.D.), the proliferation (700 A.D. to 1700 A.D.), the stagnation (1700 A.D.—1850 A.D.) and the impact of modernity (1850 A.D. onwards).

The last lecture on Hiduism and Modern culture traces the impact of modern rationalism, science, technology, socialism, the concepts of freedom and the like on life and beliefs in general.

The book is interesting reading and we commend it to scholars and general public alike.

—Satya Prakash

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VEDA SAMĪKṢĀ. Edited by Dr. E. R. Sreekrishna Śarmā. Professor of Sanskrit—Sri Venkateswara University. Tirupati, 1967 pp. 48+128. Price Rs. 6.00.

The present work is a compilation of research papers presented at the Vedic Seminar organized by the Sanskrit Department of Venkateswar University.

The book is divided into two sections. The first section contains nine papers written in Sanskrit and the second section contains eighteen papers in English. The subject matter of the papers is very extensive. The learned authors have after penetrating research, presented the matter on philosophy, politics, economics, geography, agriculture, chemistry, sports, etc. appearing in the Vedic Literature. One finds in these papers abundant material on different components of Vedic Language and Literature.

Present day India has a great need of such an evaluation. Calcutta Government Sanskrit College has also published a very useful and scholarly work, entitled *Veda Mīmāṁsā* in the Bengali language. But the utility of the present book is greatly enhanced because one can have an easy access at one place to the views of several scholars on Vedic thought. The publishers have indeed done a useful service by publishing compendius work on Vedic literature, which throws a colourful light on the glorious past of the country.

—Shriman Narain Dwivedi

RĀMĀYAṆA SAMĪKṢĀ. Edited by Shri E. R. Sreekrishna Sarma, M.A., Ph.D. Professor of Sanskrit—Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, pp. 116. Price Rs. 5.00

Several papers on *Rāmāyaṇa* were read at the Seminar organized by the Sanskrit department of the Sri Venkateswara University, and have been published in the form of this work. The participating scholars at the seminar have presented a survey of literature in their papers in Hindi, Telegu, Kannada, and Malayalam. An important paper about *Rāmāyana* according to Jain Tradition has also been included. Papers relating to Nyāsavidyā, Dharma, Saṅgita appear-

ing in the Valmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* have been incorporated in this work. The aim of all these papers is to present various regional contexts of the theme *Rāmāyaṇa*. Hence, the treatment is mostly introductory. The immortal work of the Adi-kavi Vālmiki has generally influenced the *Rāmāyaṇa* literatures of the Indian languages. The available literature on *Rāmāyaṇa* in various Indian language reveals the fundamental emotional unity of the country, and for establishing this conclusion the present evaulation is useful. The theme of *Rāmāyaṇā* available in other various regional languages also ought to have been given a place in this useful work, for example, Maithili, Bengali, Oriya and Assamese sources. Nevertheless the compilers deserve congratulations for bringing together a good deal of available material in one volume.

—Sriman Narain Dwivedi

KAVI AND KĀVYA IN THE ATHARVAVEDA. By Dr. N. L. Shende, University of Poona, 1967; pp. 186.

The word 'Kavi' has been used in various contexts in the Vedic literature. One can find the mention of Soma, Agni, Medhāvin, Anūcāna, Aṅgiras, Krāntadarśin for kavi in the Vedic works. These meanings of the word have changed during development stages according to tradition. Here Bṛhaspati has been called 'Kavīnām Kavi'. There have been several references of the poet Uśānas in the Vedas. Even in *Śrīmad Bhagvat Gītā* it has been said 'Kavīnām Uṣāna Kavi'. There is a great need of significant research in regard to this word in the background of the Vedic literature and Brāhmaṇas. From a study of Vedic literature kavi appears to be 'Brahman' or 'Itihāspuruṣa'.

The learned author Dr. N. L. Shende has presented a detailed study of this word in the background of *Atharvaveda*.

In the first chapter the author has tried to represent the different meanings of the word 'Kavi' in *Atharvaveda*.

The second chapter has analysed in much detail the figures of speech used in *Atharvan*. In the third, several poetic expressions from *Atharvaveda* have been presented and in the fourth chapter bibliography and index on the topics covered have been incorporated.

The study of *Atharvaveda* in the background of Sanskrit classical literature will be irrelevant since it is an older work in terms of time. One gets poetic expression in *Rigveda* extensively. *Atharvaveda* also provides a few instances of poetical forms. Hence the author has rightly discussed the poetic beauties of *Atharvaveda* in the background of Vedic literature. It is a very useful work for the student of Vedic literature and will be welcomed by the readers.

—Shriman Narain Dwivedi

BRIEF NOTICES

Sāmavedārṣeyadīpa of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskarādhvarīndra. Edited by Dr. B. R. Sharma, pp. xx: 202; Published by Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Tirupati, 1967. Price Rs. 13.50.

It is believed by the traditional Vedic scholars in India that every hymn of the Vedic text addressed to different gods is a positive force capable of bestowing the desired result on one who recites it in the prescribed form with the proper understanding of all its implications. Every letter and every syllable in a hymn has a particular accent and every hymn is in a particular metrical form addressed to a parti-

cular God and attributed to a particular Ṛṣi. A knowledge of these is therefore essential to one who recites a Vedic hymn at sacrifices with a purpose. Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara, the author of this work under review, has pointed out this fact on the authority of *Ārṣeya Brāhmaṇa.* In this work he has indicated the *Chandas, ṛṣi* and *devatā* of each stanza in the two parts of the *Sāmaveda,* namely "Grāmageya" part consisting of hymns addressed to Gods, Agni, Indra and Pavamāna, fit to be sung in villages and the "Araṇyageya" part consisting of hymns fit to be sung in forests only.

In his brief introduction the editor has explained the special features of this work. The critical notes drawing attention to different readings found in relevant texts, the two appendixes giving the names of the Sāmagānas Grāmageyas and the Araṇyageyas, and the name of the Ṛṣis are very helpful and add to the utility of the texts.

—V.H.

Ārṣeya Brāhmaṇa (with Vedārtha prakāśa of Sāyaṇa). Edited by Dr. B. R. Sharma, pp. 20: 352. Published by Kendrīya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Tirupati; 1967. Price Rs. 18.50.

This is one of the Brāhmaṇas of *Sāma Veda.* The work is composed in sutra form and is provided with the commentary of Sāyaṇa. Similar to *Sāmavedāṣeyadīpa* of Bhaṭṭā Bhāskara this work gives the names of the Ṛṣis of the Sāmans. It may be that Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara got the clue from this work to write his own. But in this work different methods have been adopted to indicate the names of the Ṛṣis. The work is in six *adhyāyas;* the first five *adhyāyas* relate to the "Grāmageya" part i.e. Pūūrvārcika, and the sixth *adhyāya* relates

to the "Araṇyageyas" i.e. Uttarārcika. The first khaṇḍa of the first *adhyāya,* explains the main purpose of this work, viz., knowledge of the name of the *ṛṣi, chandas* and *devatā* of each hymn, and quotes from an earlier Brāhmaṇa the evil consequences that would befall one who recites the hymns without knowing the names of Ṛṣis etc., and the good results that would accrue to one who recites them with a knowledge of the names of Ṛṣis etc.

In his critical introduction the editor has mentioned his strong conviction that the eight Brāhmaṇas of the *Sāmaveda* were in fact eight books of the greater Brāhmaṇa known as *Mahā Brāhmaṇa* or *Prauḍha Brahmaṇa*. The conclusions of the editor for holding this view are based on a critical study of these Brāhmaṇas and the commentary of Sāyaṇa, and they deserve rethinking. The two appendixes giving citations from other works referred to in the commentry and the technical names of "Sāmagānas" "Grāmageyas" and "Araṇyageyas" are useful to Vedic students.

—V.H.

Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa (with Vedārtha Prakāśa of Sāyaṇa). Edited by Dr. B. R. Sharma pp. XXVI; 306. Published by Kendrīya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Tirupati, 1967. Price Rs. 20.00.

This is one of the Brāhmaṇas of the *Sāma Veda* with the commentary of Sāyaṇa. Although it is now treated as a separate work some scholars are of the opinion that it is a continuation i.e. 26th Chapter of the *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* now consisting of twenty-five chapters and hence called also *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*. This work deals mostly with ceremonies

and rituals related to some sacrifices and expiatory rites of various kinds.

In his introduction the editor has given a detailed description of the contents of each Khaṇḍa in each chapter. With copious foot-notes, indexes and appendixes, he has made the edition as thorough as possible. Prepared in the light of the earlier editions, the earliest dating as far back as 1873, which are all out of print at present and that of the various manuscripts this edition is welcome.

Being highly technical and abstruse in their contents these Brāhmaṇas had not evoked much interest among scholars. But Dr. Sharma has with persistence engaged himself in this branch of literature and has already brought out most of the Brāhmaṇās of the *Sāma Veda* for which the scholarly world should feel grateful to him.

—V. Hanumanthachar

Malayamāruta. Edited by Dr. V. Raghavan, pp. XII+128. Published by the Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapitha. Tirupati (A.P.) 1966. Price Rs. 5.00.

Sanskrit Kāvya literature is inexhaustibly rich. A large number of books has been published. But there are still innumerable minor works and stray verses which are of great worth from literary, ethical and historical point of view but comparatively small in size to be published separately. If left unpublished, they would be lost for ever and the scholarly world would be poorer by so much. In order to prevent such a situation there were publications like the Kāvyamāla series in the past. But as these publications have stopped now for some time past we have

been feeling the need for a similar publication and *Malaya-māruta* is meant to meet this want. Dr. Raghavan with his untiring zeal has collected from different sources nine minor works which had not so far seen the light of day and has put them together in this volume. Four of them are *stotras,* one is a description of the six seasons, three are anthologies and the last one is a *Prahasana*. By associating himself in every activity connected with Sanskrit studies, Dr. Raghavan has been working for the advancement of Sanskrit learning indefatigably for over thirty years. *Malayamāruta* is his latest contribution to such efforts. Some manuscript libraries such as Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras; Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore; Kerala University Library, Trivandrum, are also publishing in their journals minor works not only in Sanskrit but also in other South Indian languages. We wish other libraries to emulate them and hope that Dr. Raghavan may bring out many more such works in the succeeding issues of the *Malayamāruta*.

—V. Hanumanthachar

JOURNAL

OF THE

GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Vol. XXII, Pts. 1—4

NOVEMBER, 1965—AUGUST, 1966

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